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Old South Leaflets.

Heroes of Peace.

OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE, BOSTON,

1904.

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OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS.

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TWENTY-SECOND SERIES,

1904.

BOSTON:

OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS were prepared primarily for circulation among the attendants upon the Old South Lectures for Young People. The subjects of the Leaflets are immediately related to the subjects of the lectures, and they are intended to supplement the lectures and stimulate historical interest and inquiry among the young people. They are made up, for the most part, from original papers of the periods treated in the lectures, in the hope to make the men and the public life of the periods more clear and real.

The Old South Lectures for Young People were instituted in the summer of 1883, as a means of promoting a more serious and intelligent attention to historical studies, especially studies in American history among the young people of Boston. The success of the lectures has been so great as to warrant the hope that such courses may be sustained in many other cities of the country.

The Old South Lectures for 1883, intended to be strictly upon subjects in early Massachusetts History, but by certain necessities somewhat modified, were as follows: "Governor Bradford and Governor Winthrop," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Plymouth," by MRS. A. M. DIAZ. "Concord," by FRANK B. SANBORN. "The Town-meeting," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Franklin, the Boston Boy," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "How to study American History," by PROF. G. STANLEY HALL. "The Year 1777," by JOHN FISKE. "History in the Boston Streets," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets prepared in connection with these lectures consisted of (1) Cotton Mather's account of Governor Bradford, from the "Magnalia"; (2) the account of the arrival of the Pilgrims at Cape Cod from Bradford's Journal; (3) an extract from Emerson's Concord Address in 1835; (4) extracts from Emerson, Samuel Adams, De Tocqueville, and others, upon the Town-meeting; (5) a portion of Franklin's Autobiography; (6) Carlyle on the Study of History; (7) an extract from Charles Sumner's oration upon Lafayette, etc.; (8) Emerson's poem, "Boston."

The lectures for 1884 were devoted to men representative of certain epochs or ideas in the history of Boston, as follows: "Sir Harry Vane, in New England and in Old England," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE, JR. "John Harvard, and the Founding of Harvard College," by EDWARD CHANNING, PH.D. "The Mather Family, and the Old Boston Ministers," by REV. SAMUEL J. BARROWS. "Simon Bradstreet, and the Struggle for the Charter," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "Samuel Adams and the Beginning of the Revolution," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Josiah Quincy, the Great Mayor," by CHARLES W. SLACK. "Daniel Webster, the Defender of the Constitution," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "John A. Andrew, the great War Governor," by COL. T. W. HIGGINSON. The Leaflets prepared in connection with the second course were as follows: (1) Selections from Forster's essay on Vane, etc.; (2) an extract from Cotton Mather's "Sal Gentium"; (3) Increase Mather's "Narrative of the Miseries of New England"; (4) an original account of "The Revolution in New England" in 1689; (5) a letter from Samuel Adams to John

Adams, on Republican Government; (6) extracts from Josiah Quincy's Boston Address of 1830; (7) Words of Webster; (8) a portion of Governor Andrew's Address to the Massachusetts Legislature in January, 1861.

The lectures for 1885 were upon "The War for the Union," as follows: "Slavery," by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, JR. "The Fall of Sumter," by COL. T. W. HIGGINSON. "The Monitor and the Merrimac," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "The Battle of Gettysburg," by COL. THEODORE A. DODGE. "Sherman's March to the Sea," by GEN. WILLIAM COGSWELL. "The Sanitary Commission," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Abraham Lincoln," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. "General Grant," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. The Leaflets accompanying these lectures were as follows: (1) Lowell's "Present Crisis," and Garrison's Salutatory in the *Liberator* of January 1, 1831; (2) extract from Henry Ward Beecher's oration at Fort Sumter in 1865; (3) contemporary newspaper accounts of the engagement between the Monitor and the Merrimac; (4) extract from Edward Everett's address at the consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, with President Lincoln's address; (5) extract from General Sherman's account of the March to the Sea, in his Memoirs; (6) Lowell's "Commemoration Ode"; (7) extract from Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the Second Inaugural Address; (8) account of the service in memory of General Grant, in Westminster Abbey, with Archdeacon Farrar's address.

The lectures for 1886 were upon "The War for Independence," as follows: "Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Bunker Hill, and the News in England," by JOHN FISKE. "The Declaration of Independence," by JAMES MACALLISTER. "The Times that tried Men's Souls," by ALBERT B. HART, PH.D. "Lafayette, and Help from France," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "The Women of the Revolution," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Washington and his Generals," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "The Lessons of the Revolution for these Times," by REV. BROOKE HERFORD. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Words of Patrick Henry; (2) Lord Chatham's Speech, urging the removal of the British troops from Boston; (3) extract from Webster's oration on Adams and Jefferson; (4) Thomas Paine's "Crisis," No. 1; (5) extract from Edward Everett's eulogy on Lafayette; (6) selections from the Letters of Abigail Adams; (7) Lowell's "Under the Old Elm"; (8) extract from Whipple's essay on "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution."

The course for the summer of 1887 was upon "The Birth of the Nation," as follows: "How the men of the English Commonwealth planned Constitutions," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "How the American Colonies grew together," by JOHN FISKE. "The Confusion after the Revolution," by DAVIS R. DEWEY, PH.D. "The Convention and the Constitution," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. "James Madison and his Journal," by PROF. E. B. ANDREWS. "How Patrick Henry opposed the Constitution," by HENRY L. SOUTHWICK. "Alexander Hamilton and the *Federalist*." "Washington's Part and the Nation's First Years," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets prepared for these lectures were as follows: (1) Extract from Edward Everett Hale's lecture on "Puritan Politics in England and New England"; (2) "The English Colonies in America," extract from De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America"; (3) Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States on Disbanding the Army; (4) the Constitution of the United States; (5) "The Last Day of the Constitutional Convention," from Madison's Journal; (6) Patrick

Henry's First Speech against the Constitution, in the Virginia Convention; (7) the *Federalist*, No. IX.; (8) Washington's First Inaugural Address.

The course for the summer of 1888 had the general title of "The Story of the Centuries," the several lectures being as follows: "The Great Schools after the Dark Ages," by EPHRAIM EMERTON, Professor of History in Harvard University. "Richard the Lion-hearted and the Crusades," by MISS NINA MOORE, author of "Pilgrims and Puritans." "The World which Dante knew," by SHATTUCK O. HARTWELL, Old South first prize essayist, 1883. "The Morning Star of the Reformation," by REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM. "Copernicus and Columbus, or the New Heaven and the New Earth," by PROF. EDWARD S. MORSE. "The People for whom Shakespeare wrote," by CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER. "The Puritans and the English Revolution," by CHARLES H. LEVERMORE, Professor of History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Lafayette and the Two Revolutions which he saw," by GEORGE MAKEPEACE TOWLE.

The Old South Lectures are devoted primarily to American history. But it is a constant aim to impress upon the young people the relations of our own history to English and general European history. It was hoped that the glance at some striking chapters in the history of the last eight centuries afforded by these lectures would be a good preparation for the great anniversaries of 1889, and give the young people a truer feeling of the continuity of history. In connection with the lectures the young people were requested to fix in mind the following dates, observing that in most instances the date comes about a decade before the close of the century. An effort was made in the Leaflets for the year to make dates, which are so often dull and useless to young people, interesting, significant, and useful.—11th Century: Lanfranc, the great mediæval scholar, who studied law at Bologna, was prior of the monastery of Bec, the most famous school in France in the 11th century, and archbishop of Canterbury under William the Conqueror, died 1089. 12th Cent.: Richard I. crowned 1189. 13th Cent.: Dante, at the battle of Campaldino, the final overthrow of the Ghibellines in Italy, 1289. 14th Cent.: Wyclif died, 1384. 15th Cent.: America discovered, 1492. 16th Cent.: Spanish Armada, 1588. 17th Cent.: William of Orange lands in England, 1688. 18th Cent.: Washington inaugurated, and the Bastille fell, 1789. The Old South Leaflets for 1888, corresponding with the several lectures, were as follows: (1) "The Early History of Oxford," from Green's "History of the English People,"; (2) "Richard Cœur de Lion and the Third Crusade," from the Chronicle of Geoffrey de Vinsauf; (3) "The Universal Empire," passages from Dante's *De Monarchia*; (4) "The Sermon on the Mount," Wyclif's translation; (5) "Copernicus and the Ancient Astronomers," from Humboldt's "Cosmos"; (6) "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada," from Camden's "Annals"; (7) "The Bill of Rights," 1689; (8) "The Eve of the French Revolution," from Carlyle. The selections are accompanied by very full historical and bibliographical notes, and it is hoped that the series will prove of much service to students and teachers engaged in the general survey of modern history.

The year 1889 being the centennial both of the beginning of our own Federal government and of the French Revolution, the lectures for the year, under the general title of "America and France," were devoted entirely to subjects in which the history of America is related to that of France as follows: "Champlain, the Founder of Quebec," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "La Salle and the French in the Great West," by REV.

W. E. GRIFFIS. "The Jesuit Missionaries in America," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Wolfe and Montcalm: The Struggle of England and France for the Continent," by JOHN FISKE. "Franklin in France," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "The Friendship of Washington and Lafayette," by MRS. ABBA GOULD WOOLSON. "Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase," by ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, Old South prize essayist, 1888. "The Year 1789," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets for the year were as follows: (1) Verrazano's account of his Voyage to America; (2) Marquette's account of his Discovery of the Mississippi; (3) Mr. Parkman's Histories; (4) the Capture of Quebec, from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac"; (5) selections from Franklin's Letters from France; (6) Letters of Washington and Lafayette; (7) the Declaration of Independence; (8) the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789.

The lectures for the summer of 1890 were on "The American Indians," as follows: "The Mound Builders," by PROF. GEORGE H. PERKINS. "The Indians whom our Fathers Found," by GEN. H. B. CARRINGTON. "John Eliot and his Indian Bible," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER. "King Philip's War," by MISS CAROLINE C. STECKER, Old South prize essayist, 1889. "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," by CHARLES A. EASTMAN, M.D., of the Sioux nation. "A Century of Dishonor," by HERBERT WELSH. "Among the Zuñis," by J. WALTER FEWKES, PH.D. "The Indian at School," by GEN. S. C. ARMSTRONG. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) extract from address by William Henry Harrison on the Mound Builders of the Ohio Valley; (2) extract from Morton's "New English Canaan" on the Manners and Customs of the Indians; (3) John Eliot's "Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians of New England," 1670; (4) extract from Hubbard's "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians" (1677) on the Beginning of King Philip's War; (5) the Speech of Pontiac at the Council at the River Ecorces, from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac"; (6) extract from Black Hawk's autobiography, on the cause of the Black Hawk War; (7) Coronado's Letter to Mendoza (1540) on his Explorations in New Mexico; (8) Eleazar Wheelock's Narrative (1762) of the Rise and Progress of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn.

The lectures for 1891, under the general title of "The New Birth of the World," were devoted to the important movements in the age preceding the discovery of America, the several lectures being as follows: "The Results of the Crusades," by F. E. E. HAMILTON, Old South prize essayist, 1883. "The Revival of Learning," by PROF. ALBERT B. HART. "The Builders of the Cathedrals," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "The Changes which Gunpowder made," by FRANK A. HILL. "The Decline of the Barons," by WILLIAM EVERETT. "The Invention of Printing," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER. "When Michel Angelo was a Boy," by HAMLIN GARLAND. "The Discovery of America," by REV. E. E. HALE. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) "The Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders," from the Chronicle of William of Malmesbury; (2) extract from More's "Utopia"; (3) "The Founding of Westminster Abbey," from Dean Stanley's "Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey"; (4) "The Siege of Constantinople," from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire"; (5) "Simon de Montfort," selections from Chronicles of the time; (6) "Caxton at Westminster," extract from Blade's Life of William Caxton; (7) "The Youth of Michel Angelo," from Vasari's "Lives of the Italian Painters"; (8) "The Discovery of America," from Ferdinand Columbus's life of his father.

The lectures for 1892 were upon "The Discovery of America," as follows: "What Men knew of the World before Columbus," by PROF. EDWARD S. MORSE. "Leif Erikson and the Northmen," by REV. EDWARD A. HORTON. "Marco Polo and his Book," by MR. O. W. DIMMICK. "The Story of Columbus," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Americus Vesputius and the Early Books about America," by REV. E. G. PORTER. "Cortes and Pizarro," by PROF. CHAS. H. LEVERMORE. "De Soto and Ponce de Leon," by MISS RUTH BALLGU WHITTEMORE, Old South prize essayist, 1891. "Spain, France, and England in America," by MR. JOHN FISKE. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Strabo's Introduction to Geography; (2) The Voyages to Vinland, from the Saga of Eric the Red; (3) Marco Polo's account of Japan and Java; (4) Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing his First Voyage; (5) Amerigo Vespucci's account of his First Voyage; (6) Cortes's account of the City of Mexico; (7) the Death of De Soto, from the "Narrative of a Gentleman of Elvas"; (8) Early Notices of the Voyages of the Cabots.

The lectures for 1893 were upon "The Opening of the Great West," as follows: "Spain and France in the Great West," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS. "The North-west Territory and the Ordinance of 1787," by JOHN M. MERRIAM. "Washington's Work in Opening the West," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Marietta and the Western Reserve," by MISS LUCY W. WARREN, Old South prize essayist, 1892. "How the Great West was settled," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "Lewis and Clarke and the Explorers of the Rocky Mountains," by REV. THOMAS VAN NESS. "California and Oregon," by PROF. JOSIAH ROYCE. "The Story of Chicago," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) De Vaca's account of his Journey to New Mexico, 1535; (2) Manasseh Cutler's Description of Ohio, 1787; (3) Washington's Journal of his Tour to the Ohio, 1770; (4) Garfield's Address on the North-west Territory and the Western Reserve; (5) George Rogers Clark's account of the Capture of Vincennes, 1779; (6) Jefferson's Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis; (7) Fremont's account of his Ascent of Fremont's Peak; (8) Father Marquette at Chicago, 1673.

The lectures for 1894 were upon "The Founders of New England," as follows: "William Brewster, the Elder of Plymouth," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE. "William Bradford, the Governor of Plymouth," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS. "John Winthrop, the Governor of Massachusetts," by HON. FREDERIC T. GREENHALGE. "John Harvard, and the Founding of Harvard College," by MR. WILLIAM R. THAYER. "John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians," by REV. JAMES DE NORMANDIE. "John Cotton, the Minister of Boston," by REV. JOHN COTTON BROOKS. "Roger Williams, the Founder of Rhode Island," by PRESIDENT E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS. "Thomas Hooker, the Founder of Connecticut," by REV. JOSEPH H. TWICHELL. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Bradford's Memoir of Elder Brewster; (2) Bradford's First Dialogue; (3) Winthrop's Conclusions for the Plantation in New England; (4) New England's First Fruits, 1643; (5) John Eliot's Indian Grammar Begun; (6) John Cotton's "God's Promise to his Plantation"; (7) Letters of Roger Williams to Winthrop; (8) Thomas Hooker's "Way of the Churches of New England."

The lectures for 1895 were upon "The Puritans in Old England," as follows: "John Hooper, the First Puritan," by EDWIN D. MEAD; "Cambridge, the Puritan University," by WILLIAM EVERETT; "Sir John Eliot

and the House of Commons," by PROF. ALBERT B. HART; "John Hampden and the Ship Money," by REV. F. W. GUNSAULUS; "John Pym and the Grand Remonstrance," by REV. JOHN CUCKSON; "Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE; "John Milton, the Puritan Poet," by JOHN FISKE; "Henry Vane in Old England and New England," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) The English Bible, selections from the various versions; (2) Hooper's Letters to Bullinger; (3) Sir John Eliot's "Apology for Socrates"; (4) Ship-money Papers; (5) Pym's Speech against Strafford; (6) Cromwell's Second Speech; (7) Milton's "Free Commonwealth"; (8) Sir Henry Vane's Defence.

The lectures for 1896 were upon "The American Historians," as follows: "Bradford and Winthrop and their Journals," by MR. EDWIN D. MEAD; "Cotton Mather and his 'Magnalia,'" by PROF. BARRETT WENDELL; "Governor Hutchinson and his History of Massachusetts," by PROF. CHARLES H. LEVERMORE; "Washington Irving and his Services for American History," by MR. RICHARD BURTON; "Bancroft and his History of the United States," by PRES. AUSTIN SCOTT; "Prescott and his Spanish Histories," by HON. ROGER WOLCOTT; "Motley and his History of the Dutch Republic," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS; "Parkman and his Works on France in America," by MR. JOHN FISKE. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Winthrop's "Little Speech" on Liberty; (2) Cotton Mather's "Bostonian Ebenezer," from the "Magnalia"; (3) Governor Hutchinson's account of the Boston Tea Party; (4) Adrian Van der Donck's Description of the New Netherlands in 1655; (5) The Debate in the Constitutional Convention on the Rules of Suffrage in Congress; (6) Columbus's Memorial to Ferdinand and Isabella, on his Second Voyage; (7) The Dutch Declaration of Independence in 1581; (8) Captain John Knox's account of the Battle of Quebec. The last five of these eight Leaflets illustrate the original material in which Irving, Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman worked in the preparation of their histories.

The lectures for 1897 were upon "The Anti-slavery Struggle," as follows: "William Lloyd Garrison, or Anti-slavery in the Newspaper," by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, JR.; "Wendell Phillips, or Anti-slavery on the Platform," by WENDELL PHILLIPS STAFFORD; "Theodore Parker, or Anti-slavery in the Pulpit," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE; "John G. Whittier, or Anti-slavery in the Poem," by MRS. ALICE FREEMAN PALMER; "Harriet Beecher Stowe, or Anti-slavery in the Story," by MISS MARIA L. BALDWIN; "Charles Sumner, or Anti-slavery in the Senate," by MOORFIELD STOREY; "John Brown, or Anti-slavery on the Scaffold," by FRANK B. SANBORN; "Abraham Lincoln, or Anti-slavery Triumphant," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) The First Number of *The Liberator*; (2) Wendell Phillips's Eulogy of Garrison; (3) Theodore Parker's Address on the Dangers from Slavery; (4) Whittier's account of the Anti-slavery Convention of 1833; (5) Mrs. Stowe's Story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; (6) Sumner's Speech on the Crime against Kansas; (7) Words of John Brown; (8) The First Lincoln and Douglas Debate.

The lectures for 1898 were upon "The Old World in the New," as follows: "What Spain has done for America," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER; "What Italy has done for America," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS; "What France has done for America," by PROF. JEAN CHARLE-

MAGNE BRACQ; "What England has done for America," by MISS KATHARINE COMAN; "What Ireland has done for America," by PROF. F. SPENCER BALDWIN; "What Holland has done for America," by MR. EDWIN D. MEAD; "What Germany has done for America," by MISS ANNA B. THOMPSON; "What Scandinavia has done for America," by MR. JOSEPH P. WARREN. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Account of the Founding of St. Augustine, by Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales; (2) Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his Third Voyage; (3) Champlain's Account of the Founding of Quebec; (4) Barlowe's Account of the First Voyage to Roanoke; (5) Parker's Account of the Settlement of Londonderry, N.H.; (6) Juet's Account of the Discovery of the Hudson River; (7) Pastorius's Description of Pennsylvania, 1700; (8) Acrelius's Account of the Founding of New Sweden.

The lectures for 1899 were upon "The Life and Influence of Washington," as follows: "Washington in the Revolution," by MR. JOHN FISKE; "Washington and the Constitution," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE; "Washington as President of the United States," by REV. ALBERT E. WINSHIP; "Washington the True Expander of the Republic," by MR. EDWIN D. MEAD; "Washington's Interest in Education," by HON. ALFRED S. ROE; "The Men who worked with Washington," by MRS. ALICE FREEMAN PALMER; "Washington's Farewell Address," by REV. FRANKLIN HAMILTON; "What the World has thought and said of Washington," by PROF. EDWIN A. GROSVENOR. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Washington's Account of the Army at Cambridge in 1775; (2) Washington's Letters on the Constitution; (3) Washington's Inaugurals; (4) Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison in 1784; (5) Washington's Words on a National University; (6) Letters of Washington and Lafayette; (7) Washington's Farewell Address; (8) Henry Lee's Funeral Oration on Washington.

The lectures for 1900 were upon "The United States in the Nineteenth Century," as follows: "Thomas Jefferson, the First Nineteenth-century President," by EDWIN D. MEAD; "The Opening of the Great West," by REV. WILLIAM E. BARTON; "Webster and Calhoun, or the Nation and the States," by PROF. S. M. MACVANE; "Abraham Lincoln and the Struggle with Slavery," by REV. CHARLES G. AMES; "Steam and Electricity, from Fulton to Edison," by PROF. F. SPENCER BALDWIN; "The Progress of Education in the Nineteenth Century," by MR. FRANK A. HILL; "The American Poets," by MRS. MAY ALDEN WARD; "America and the World," by HON. JOHN L. BATES. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Jefferson's Inaugurals; (2) Account of Louisiana in 1803; (3) Calhoun on the Government of the United States; (4) Lincoln's Cooper Institute Address; (5) Chancellor Livingston on the Invention of the Steamboat; (6) Horace Mann's Address on the Ground of the Free School System; (7) Rufus Choate's Address on the Romance of New England History; (8) Kossuth's First Speech in Faneuil Hall.

The lectures for 1901 were upon "The English Exploration of America," as follows: "John Cabot and the First English Expedition to America," by PROF. CHARLES H. LEVERMORE; "Hawkins and Drake in the West Indies," by MR. JOSEPH P. WARREN; "Martin Frobisher and the Search for the North-west Passage," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW; "Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his Expedition to Newfoundland," by MR. RAY GREENE HULING; "Sir Walter Raleigh and the Story of Roanoke," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE; "Bartholomew Gosnold and the Story of

Cuttyhunk," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS; "Captain John Smith in Virginia and New England," by HON. ALFRED S. ROE; "Richard Hakluyt and his Books about the English Explorers," by MR. MILAN C. AYRES. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) John Cabot's Discovery of North America; (2) Sir Francis Drake on the Coast of California; (3) Frobisher's First Voyage; (4) Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Expedition to Newfoundland; (5) Raleigh's First Roanoke Colony; (6) Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk; (7) Captain John Smith's Description of New England; (8) Richard Hakluyt's Discourse on Western Planting.

The lectures for 1902 were upon "How the United States Grew," as follows: "The Old Thirteen Colonies," by HON. JOHN D. LONG; "George Rogers Clark and the North-west Territory," by PROF. ALBERT B. HART; "How Jefferson bought Louisiana from Napoleon," by REV. GEORGE HODGES; "The Story of Florida," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS; "The Lone Star State," by HON. JOHN L. BATES; "The Oregon Country," by REV. SAMUEL A. ELIOT; "The Mexican War and What Came of It," by PROF. F. SPENCER BALDWIN; "Alaska in 1867 and 1902," by MR. GEORGE G. WOLKINS. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Brissot's Account of Boston in 1788; (2) The Ordinance of 1784; (3) The Cession of Louisiana; (4) Monroe's Messages on Florida; (5) Captain Potter's Account of the Fall of the Alamo; (6) Porter's Account of the Discovery of the Columbia River; (7) Sumner's Report on the War with Mexico; (8) Seward's Address on Alaska.

The lectures for 1903 were upon "The World which Emerson knew," as follows: "The Boston into which Emerson was born," by MR. EDWIN D. MEAD; "The Latin School and Harvard College a Century Ago," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE; "Emerson in Concord: The Citizen and the Neighbor," by REV. LOREN B. MACDONALD; "Emerson's Friends and Fellow-workers," by MR. GEORGE WILLIS COOKE; "Emerson in Europe, and the Men whom he met," by REV. JOHN CUCKSON; "The Lecturer, the Essayist, and the Poet," by MR. JOHN TETLOW; "The Anti-slavery Struggle and the Civil War," by REV. CHARLES G. AMES; "A Century from the Birth of Emerson," by LIEUT. GOVERNOR CURTIS GUILD, JR. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) William Emerson's Fourth of July Oration, 1802; (2) James G. Carter's Account of the Schools of Massachusetts in 1824; (3) President Dwight's Account of Boston at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century; (4) Selections from the First Number of *The Dial*; (5) Alexander Ireland's Recollections of Emerson; (6) The American Lyceum, 1829; (7) Samuel Hoar's Account of his Expulsion from Charleston in 1844; (8) Channing's Essay on National Literature, 1830.

The lectures for 1904 were upon "Heroes of Peace," as follows: "John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians," by PROF. EDWARD C. MOORE; "Horace Mann and his Work for Better Schools," by MR. GEORGE H. MARTIN; "Mary Lyon and her College for Girls," by MISS MARY E. WOOLLEY; "Elihu Burritt, the Learned Blacksmith," by REV. CHARLES E. JEFFERSON; "Peter Cooper, the Generous Giver," by MR. EDWARD H. CHANDLER; "Dorothea Dix and her Errands of Mercy," by REV. CHRISTOPHER R. ELIOT; "General Armstrong and the Hampton Institute," by PRES. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON; "Colonel Waring and How he made New York clean," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) John Eliot's Day-breaking of the Gospel with the Indians; (2) Passage on Education and Prosperity, from Horace Mann's Twelfth

Report; (3) Mary Lyon's Pamphlet on Mount Holyoke Seminary, 1835; (4) Elihu Burritt's Addresses on A Congress of Nations; (5) Peter Cooper's Autobiography; (6) Dorothea Dix's Memorial to the Massachusetts Legislature, 1843; (7) General Armstrong's Account of the Founding of the Hampton Institute; (8) George E. Waring, Jr.'s, Account of Old Jersey.

The Old South Leaflets, which have been published during the years since 1883 in connection with these annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting-house, have attracted so much attention and proved of so much service that the Directors have entered upon the publication of the Leaflets for general circulation, with the needs of schools, colleges, private clubs, and classes especially in mind. The Leaflets are prepared by Mr. Edwin D. Mead. They are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They consist, on an average, of twenty pages, and are sold at the low price of **five cents** a copy, or **four dollars per hundred**. The aim is to bring them within easy reach of everybody. The Old South Work, founded by Mrs. Mary Hemenway, and still sustained by provision of her will, is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics; and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such leaflets as those now undertaken. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. Some idea of the character of these Old South Leaflets may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the numbers which are now ready. It will be noticed that most of the later numbers are the same as certain numbers in the annual series. Since 189c they are essentially the same, and persons ordering the Leaflets need simply observe the following numbers.

No. **1.** The Constitution of the United States. **2.** The Articles of Confederation. **3.** The Declaration of Independence. **4.** Washington's Farewell Address. **5.** Magna Charta. **6.** Vane's "Healing Question." **7.** Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. **8.** Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. **9.** Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. **10.** Washington's Inaugurals. **11.** Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. **12.** The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. **13.** The Ordinance of 1787. **14.** The Constitution of Ohio. **15.** Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, 1783. **16.** Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison, 1784. **17.** Verrazzano's Voyage, 1524. **18.** The Constitution of Switzerland. **19.** The Bill of Rights, 1689. **20.** Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, 1540. **21.** Eliot's Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians, 1670. **22.** Wheelock's Narrative of the Rise of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn., 1762. **23.** The Petition of Rights, 1628. **24.** The Grand Remonstrance. **25.** The Scottish National Covenants. **26.** The Agreement of the People. **27.** The Instrument of Government. **28.** Cromwell's First Speech to his Parliament. **29.** The Discovery of America, from the Life of Columbus, by his son, Ferdinand Columbus. **30.** Strabo's Introduction to Geography. **31.** The Voyages to Vinland, from the Saga of Eric the Red. **32.** Marco Polo's Account of Japan and Java. **33.** Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing the First

Voyage and Discovery. 34. Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his First Voyage. 35. Cortes's Account of the City of Mexico. 36. The Death of De Soto, from the "Narrative of a Gentleman of Elvas." 37. Early Notices of the Voyages of the Cabots. 38. Henry Lee's Funeral Oration on Washington. 39. De Vaca's Account of his Journey to New Mexico, 1535. 40. Manasseh Cutler's Description of Ohio, 1787. 41. Washington's Journal of his Tour to the Ohio, 1770. 42. Garfield's Address on the North-west Territory and the Western Reserve. 43. George Rogers Clark's Account of the Capture of Vincennes, 1779. 44. Jefferson's Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis. 45. Fremont's Account of his Ascent of Fremont's Peak. 46. Father Marquette at Chicago, 1673. 47. Washington's Account of the Army at Cambridge, 1775. 48. Bradford's Memoir of Elder Brewster. 49. Bradford's First Dialogue. 50. Winthrop's "Conclusions for the Plantation in New England." 51. "New England's First Fruits," 1643. 52. John Eliot's "Indian Grammar Begun." 53. John Cotton's "God's Promise to his Plantation." 54. Letters of Roger Williams to Winthrop. 55. Thomas Hooker's "Way of the Churches of New England." 56. The Monroe Doctrine: President Monroe's Message of 1823. 57. The English Bible, selections from the various versions. 58. Hooper's Letters to Bullinger. 59. Sir John Eliot's "Apology for Socrates." 60. Ship-money Papers. 61. Pym's Speech against Strafford. 62. Cromwell's Second Speech. 63. Milton's "A Free Commonwealth." 64. Sir Henry Vane's Defence. 65. Washington's Addresses to the Churches. 66. Winthrop's "Little Speech" on Liberty. 67. Cotton Mather's "Bostonian Ebenezer," from the "Magnalia." 68. Governor Hutchinson's Account of the Boston Tea Party. 69. Adrian Van der Donck's Description of New Netherlands in 1655. 70. The Debate in the Constitutional Convention on the Rules of Suffrage in Congress. 71. Columbus's Memorial to Ferdinand and Isabella, on his Second Voyage. 72. The Dutch Declaration of Independence in 1581. 73. Captain John Knox's Account of the Battle of Quebec. 74. Hamilton's Report on the Coinage. 75. William Penn's Plan for the Peace of Europe. 76. Washington's Words on a National University. 77. Cotton Mather's Lives of Bradford and Winthrop. 78. The First Number of *The Liberator*. 79. Wendell Phillips's Eulogy of Garrison. 80. Theodore Parker's Address on the Dangers from Slavery. 81. Whittier's Account of the Anti-slavery Convention of 1833. 82. Mrs. Stowe's Story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." 83. Sumner's Speech on the Crime against Kansas. 84. The Words of John Brown. 85. The First Lincoln and Douglas Debate. 86. Washington's Account of his Capture of Boston. 87. The Manners and Customs of the Indians, from Morton's "New English Canaan." 88. The Beginning of King Philip's War, from Hubbard's History of Philip's War, 1677. 89. Account of the Founding of St. Augustine, by Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales. 90. Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his Third Voyage. 91. Champlain's Account of the Founding of Quebec. 92. Barlowe's Account of the First Voyage to Roanoke. 93. Parker's Account of the Settlement of Londonderry, N.H. 94. Juet's Account of the Discovery of the Hudson River. 95. Pastorius's Description of Pennsylvania, 1700. 96. Acrelius's Account of the Founding of New Sweden. 97. Lafayette in the American Revolution. 98. Letters of Washington and Lafayette. 99. Washington's Letters on the Constitution. 100. Robert Browne's "Reformation without Tarrying for Any." 101. Grotius's "Rights of War and Peace." 102. Columbus's Account

of Cuba. **103.** John Adams's Inaugural. **104.** Jefferson's Inaugurals. **105.** Account of Louisiana in 1803. **106.** Calhoun on the Government of the United States. **107.** Lincoln's Cooper Institute Address. **108.** Chancellor Livingston on the Invention of the Steamboat. **109.** Horace Mann's Address on the Ground of the Free School System. **110.** Rufus Choate's Address on the Romance of New England History. **111.** Kosuth's First Speech in Faneuil Hall. **112.** King Alfred's Description of Europe. **113.** Augustine in England. **114.** The Hague Arbitration Treaty. **115.** John Cabot's Discovery of North America. **116.** Sir Francis Drake on the Coast of California. **117.** Frobisher's First Voyage. **118.** Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Expedition to Newfoundland. **119.** Raleigh's First Roanoke Colony. **120.** Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk. **121.** Captain John Smith's Description of New England. **122.** Richard Hakluyt's Discourse on Western Planting. **123.** Selections from Dante's "Monarchia." **124.** Selections from More's "Utopia." **125.** Wyclif's English Bible. **126.** Brissot's Account of Boston in 1788. **127.** The Ordinance of 1784. **128.** The Cession of Louisiana. **129.** Monroe's Messages on Florida. **130.** Captain Potter's Account of the Fall of the Alamo. **131.** Porter's Account of the Discovery of the Columbia River. **132.** Sumner's Report on the War with Mexico. **133.** Seward's Address on Alaska. **134.** William Emerson's Fourth of July Oration, 1802. **135.** James G. Carter's Account of the Schools of Massachusetts in 1824. **136.** President Dwight's Account of Boston at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. **137.** Selections from the First Number of *The Dial*. **138.** Alexander Ireland's Recollections of Emerson. **139.** The American Lyceum, 1829. **140.** Samuel Hoar's Account of his Expulsion from Charleston in 1844. **141.** Channing's Essay on Natural Literature, 1830. **142.** Words of John Robinson. **143.** John Eliot's "Day-breaking of the Gospel with the Indians." **144.** Passage on Education and Prosperity, from Horace Mann's Twelfth Report. **145.** Mary Lyon's Pamphlet on Mount Holyoke Seminary, 1835. **146.** Elihu Burritt's Addresses on a Congress of Nations. **147.** Peter Cooper's Autobiography. **148.** Dorothea Dix's Memorial to the Massachusetts Legislature, 1843. **149.** General Armstrong's Account of the Founding of the Hampton Institute. **150.** George E. Waring, Jr.'s, Account of Old Jersey.

The leaflets, which are sold at five cents a copy or four dollars per hundred, are also furnished in bound volumes, each volume containing twenty-five leaflets: Vol. i., Nos. 1-25; Vol. ii., 26-50; Vol. iii., 51-75; Vol. iv., 76-100; Vol. v., 101-125; Vol. vi., 126-150. Price per volume, \$1.50. Title-pages with table of contents will be furnished to all purchasers of the leaflets who wish to bind them for themselves. Annual series of eight leaflets each, in paper covers, 50 cents a volume.

Address DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK, Old South Meeting-house, Boston.

It is hoped that this list of Old South Lectures and Leaflets will meet the needs of many clubs and classes engaged in the study of history, as well as the needs of individual students, serving as a table of topics. The subjects of the lectures in the various courses will be found to have a logical sequence; and the leaflets accompanying the several lectures can be used profitably in connection, containing as they do full historical notes and references to the best literature on the subjects of the lectures.

OLD SOUTH ESSAYS, 1881-1904.

The Old South prizes for the best essays on subjects in American history were first offered by Mrs. Hemenway in 1881, and they have been awarded regularly in each successive year since. The competition is open to all graduates of the various Boston high schools in the current year and the preceding year. Two subjects are proposed each year, forty dollars being awarded for the best essay on each of the subjects named, and twenty-five dollars for the second best,—in all, four prizes.

The first prize essay for 1881, on "The Policy of the early Colonists of Massachusetts toward Quakers and Others whom they regarded as Intruders," by Henry L. Southwick, and one of the first-prize essays for 1889, on "Washington's Interest in Education," by Miss Caroline C. Stecker, have been printed, and can be procured at the Old South Meeting-house. Another of the prize essays on "Washington's Interest in Education," by Miss Julia K. Ordway, was published in the *New England Magazine*, for May, 1890; one of the first-prize essays for 1890, on "Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh," by Miss Caroline C. Stecker, appeared in the *New England Magazine* for September, 1891; one of the first-prize essays for 1891, on "Marco Polo's Explorations in Asia and their Influence upon Columbus," by Miss Helen P. Margesson, in the number for August, 1892; one for 1893, on "The Part of Massachusetts Men in the Ordinance of 1787," by Miss Elizabeth H. Tetlow, in March, 1895; one for 1898, on "The Struggle of France and England for North America," by Caroline B. Shaw, in January, 1900; and one for 1901, on "Early Explorations of the New England Coast," by Hyman Askowith, in March, 1903.

The Old South essayists of these years now number over two hundred; and they naturally represent the best historical scholarship of their successive years in the Boston high schools. They have been organized into an Old South Historical Society, which holds monthly meetings for the reading of papers and general discussion. The meetings of the society for the season of 1896-97 were devoted to the study of the Anti-slavery Struggle. The general subject for the season of 1897-98 was "The Heritage of Slavery," taking up reconstruction, the education of the freedmen, etc. The subject for 1898-99 was "The History of the Spanish Power in America." The 1899-1900 studies were of "Economic and Social Forces in Massachusetts to 1800." The courses for 1900-1901 and 1901-1902 were on "The Puritan Movement." The course for 1902-1903 was on various movements in the United States during the nineteenth century. The course for 1903-1904 was on the French and Indian Wars.

The society has also instituted annual historical pilgrimages, in which it invites the young people of Boston and vicinity to join. Its first pilgrimage, in 1896, was to old Rutland, Mass., "the cradle of Ohio." Its second pilgrimage, June, 1897, in which six hundred joined, was to the homes of Whittier by the Merrimack. The third pilgrimage, June, 1898, joined in by an equal number, was to the King Philip Country, Mount Hope, R.I. The 1899 pilgrimage was to Plymouth. The 1900 pilgrimage was to Newburyport. The 1901 pilgrimage was to Newport. The 1902 pilgrimage was to Portsmouth. The 1903 pilgrimage was again to the Whittier country. The 1904 pilgrimage was to Andover.

The subjects of the Old South essays from 1881 to 1904 are given below, in the hope that they will prove suggestive and stimulating to other students and societies. It will be observed that the subjects of the later essays are closely related to the subjects of the lectures for the year.

1881. What was the policy of the early colonists of Massachusetts toward Quakers and others whom they regarded as intruders? Was this policy in any respect objectionable, and, if so, what excuses can be offered for it?

Why did the American colonies separate from the mother country? Did the early settlers look forward to any such separation, and, if not, how and when did the wish for it grow up? What was the difference between the form of government which they finally adopted and that under which they had before been living?

1882. Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain boys; or, the early history of the New Hampshire grant, afterward called Vermont.

The town meeting in the Old South Meeting-house on July 22 and 28, 1774.

1883. The right and wrong of the policy of the United States toward the North American Indians.

What were the defects of the "Articles of Confederation" between the United States, and why was the "Constitution of the United States" substituted?

1884. Why did the Pilgrim Fathers come to New England?

The struggle to maintain the Massachusetts charter, to its final loss in 1684. Discuss the relation of the struggle to the subsequent struggle of the colonies for independence.

1885. Slavery as it once prevailed in Massachusetts.

The "States Rights" doctrine in New England, with special reference to the Hartford Convention.

1886. The Boston town meetings and their influence in the American Revolution.

English opinion upon the American Revolution preceding and during the war.

1887. The Albany Convention of 1754, its history and significance, with reference to previous and subsequent movements toward union in the colonies.

Is a Congress of two houses or a Congress of one house the better? What was said about it in the Constitutional Convention, and what is to be said about it to-day?

1888. England's part in the Crusades, and the influence of the Crusades upon the development of English liberty.

The political thought of Sir Henry Vane. Consider Vane's relations to Cromwell and his influence upon America.

1889. The influence of French political thought upon America during the period of the American and French Revolutions.

Washington's interest in the cause of education. Consider especially his project of a national university.

1890. Efforts for the education of the Indians in the American colonies before the Revolution.

King Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh: discuss their plans for Indian union and compare their characters.

1891. The introduction of printing into England by William Caxton, and its effects upon English literature and life.

Marco Polo's explorations in Asia, and their influence upon Columbus.

1892. The native races of Mexico, and their civilization at the time of the conquest by Cortes.

English explorations in America during the century following the discovery by Columbus.

1893. The part taken by Massachusetts men in connection with the Ordinance of 1787.

Coronado and the early Spanish explorations of New Mexico.

1894. The relations of the founders of New England to the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.

The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut and their place in the history of written constitutions.

1895. New England politics as affected by the changes in England from 1629 to 1692, the dates of the two Massachusetts charters.

The character of Cromwell as viewed by his contemporaries. Consider especially the tributes of Milton and Marvell.

1896. Early historical writings in America, from Captain John Smith to Governor Hutchinson.

The Harvard historians, and the services of Harvard University for American history.

1897. The history of slavery in the Northern States and of Anti-slavery Sentiment in the South before the Civil War.

The Anti-slavery movement in American literature.

1898. The Struggle of France and England for North America, from the founding of Quebec by Champlain till the capture of Quebec by Wolfe.

The History of Immigration to the United States from the close of the Revolution to the present time. Consider the race and character of the immigrants in the earlier and later periods.

1899. The American Revolution under Washington and the English Revolution under Cromwell: Compare their Causes, Aims, and Results.

Washington's Plan for a National University: The Argument for it a Hundred Years Ago and the Argument To-day.

1900. The Monroe Doctrine: Its History and Purpose.

Longfellow's Poetry of America: His Use of American Subjects and his Services for American History.

1901. The Explorations of the New England Coast previous to the landing of the Pilgrims in 1620, with special reference to the early maps.

The Services of Richard Hakluyt in promoting the English colonization of America.

1902. The Political History of the Louisiana Territory, from the Treaty of Paris in 1763 to the Admission of Louisiana as a State in 1812.

Explorations beyond the Mississippi, from the Discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Gray to the Last Expedition under Fremont.

1903. The Works of Emerson in their Reference to American History, —the Colonial period, the period of the Revolution, and the period of the Anti-slavery Struggle and the Civil War.

The Condition of Public Education in Massachusetts at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.

1904. The services of Elihu Burritt and other Americans in connection with the International Peace Congresses in Europe from 1843 to 1851.

The life and work of Francis Parkman as an illustration of heroic devotion in the historical scholar.



The Day- Breaking of the Gospel with the Indians.

By JOHN ELIOT.

THE DAY-BREAKING, IF NOT THE SUN-RISING OF THE GOSPELL WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND. LONDON, PRINTED BY RICH. COTES, FOR FULK CLIFTON, AND ARE TO BEE SOLD AT HIS SHOP UNDER SAINT MARGARETS CHURCH ON NEW-FISH-STREET HILL, 1647.

A True Relation of our beginnings with the Indians.

Upon *October 28. 1646.* four of us (having sought God) went unto the *Indians* inhabiting within our bounds, with desire to make known the things of their peace to them. A little before we came to their *Wigwams*, five or six of the chief of them met us with English salutations, bidding us much welcome; who leading us into the principall *Wigwam* of *Waubon*, we found many more *Indians*, men, women, children, gathered together from all quarters round about, according to appointment, to meet with us, and learne of us. *Waubon* the chief minister of Justice among them exhorting and inviting them before thereunto, being one who gives more grounded hopes of serious respect to the things of God, then any that as yet I have knowne of that forlorne generation; and therefore since wee first began to deale seriously with him, hath voluntarily offered his eldest son to be educated and trained up in the knowledge of God, hoping, as hee told us, that he might come to know him, although hee despaired much concerning himself; and accordingly his

son was accepted, and is now at school in *Dedham*, whom we found at this time standing by his father among the rest of his *Indian* brethren in English clothes.

They being all there assembled, we began with prayer, which now was in English, being not so farre acquainted with the *Indian* language as to expresse our hearts herein before God or them, but wee hope it will bee done ere long, the *Indians* desiring it that they also might know how to pray; but thus wee began in an unknowne tongue to them, partly to let them know that this dutie in hand was serious and sacred, (for so much some of them understand by what is undertaken at prayer) partly also in regard of our selves, that wee might agree together in the same request and heart sorrowes for them even in that place where God was never wont to be called upon.

When prayer was ended it was a glorious affecting spectacle to see a company of perishing, forlorne outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered; professing they understood all that which was then taught them in their owne tongue; it much affected us that they should smell some things of the Alabaster box broken up in that darke and gloomy habitation of filthinesse and uncleane spirits. For about an houre and a quarter the Sermon continued, wherein one of our company ran thorough all the principall matter of religion, beginning first with a repetition of the ten Commandments, and a briefe explication of them, then shewing the curse and dreadfull wrath of God against all those who brake them, or any one of them, or the least title of them, and so applyed it unto the condition of the *Indians* present, with much sweet affection; and then preached Jesus Christ to them the onely meanes of recovery from sinne and wrath and eternall death, and what Christ was, and whither he was now gone, and how hee will one day come againe to judge the world in flaming fire; and of the blessed estate of all those that by faith beleve in Christ, and know him feelingly: he spake to them also (observing his owne method as he saw most fit to edifie them) about the creation and fall of man, about the greatnesse and infinite being of God, the maker of all things, about the joyes of heaven, and the terrours and horrours of wicked men in hell, perswading them to repentance for severall sins which they live in, and many things of the like nature; not meddling with any matters more difficult, and which to such weake ones might at first seeme ridiculous, untill they had tasted and beleved more plaine and familiar truths.

Having thus in a set speech familiarly opened the principal matters of salvation to them, the next thing wee intended was discourse with them by propounding certaine questions to see what they would say to them, that so wee might skrue by variety of meanes something or other of God into them; but before wee did this we asked them if they understood all that which was already spoken, and whether all of them in the *Wigwam* did understand or onely some few? and they answered to this question with multitude of voyces, that they all of them did understand all that which was then spoken to them. We then desired to know of them, if they would propound any question to us for more cleare understanding of what was delivered; whereupõn severall of them propounded presently severall questions, (far different from what some other *Indians* under *Kitshomakin* in the like meeting about six weekes before had done, *viz.* 1. What was the cause of Thunder. 2. Of the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea. 3. Of the wind) but the questions (which wee thinke some speciall wisdome of God directed these unto) (which these propounded) were in number six.

How may wee come to know Jesus Christ?

Our first answer was, That if they were able to read our Bible, the book of God, therein they should see most cleerely what Jesus Christ was: but because they could not do that; therefore,

Secondly, we wisht them to thinke, and meditate of so much as had been taught them, and which they now heard out of Gods booke, and to thinke much and often upon it, both when they did lie downe on their Mats in their *Wigwams*, and when they rose up, and to goe alone in the fields and woods, and muse on it, and so God would teach them; especially if they used a third helpe, which was,

Prayer to God to teach them and reveale Jesus Christ unto them; and wee told them, that although they could not make any long prayers as the English could, yet if they did but sigh and groane, and say thus; Lord make mee know Jesus Christ, for I know him not, and if they did say so againe and againe with their hearts that God would teach them Jesus Christ, because hee is such a God as will bee found of them that seeke him with all their hearts, and hee is a God hearing the prayers of all men both *Indian* as well as *English*, and that *English* men by this meanes have come to the knowledge of Jesus Christ.

The last helpe wee gave them was repentance, they must confesse their sinnes and ignorance unto God, and mourne for it,

and acknowledge how just it is, for God to deny them the knowledge of Jesus Christ or any thing else because of their sinnes.

These things were spoken by him who had preached to them in their owne language, borrowing now and then some small helpe from the Interpreter whom wee brought with us, and who could oftentimes expresse our minds more distinctly then any of us could; but this wee perceived, that a few words from the Preacher were more regarded then many from the *Indian* Interpreter.

One of them after this answer, replied to us, that hee was a little while since praying in his *Wigwam*, unto God and Jesus Christ, that God would give him a good heart, and that while hee was praying, one of his fellow *Indians* interrupted him, and told him, that hee prayed in vaine, because Jesus Christ understood not what *Indians* speake in prayer, he had bin used to heare *English* man pray and so could well enough understand them, but *Indian* language in prayer hee thought hee was not acquainted with it, but was a stranger to it, and therefore could not understand them. His question therefore was, whether Jesus Christ did understand, or God did understand *Indian* prayers.

This question sounding just like themselves, wee studied to give as familiar an answer as wee could, and therefore in this as in all other our answers, we endeavoured to speake nothing without clearing of it up by some familiar similitude; our answer summarily was therefore this, that Jesus Christ and God by him made all things, and makes all men, not onely *English* but *Indian* men, and if hee made them both (which wee know the light of nature would readily teach as they had been also instructed by us) then hee knew all that was within man and came from man, all his desires, and all his thoughts, and all his speeches, and so all his prayer; and if hee made *Indian* men, then hee knowes all *Indian* prayers also: and therefore wee bid them looke upon that *Indian* Basket that was before them, there was black and white strawes, and many other things they made it of, now though others did not know what those things were who made not the Basket, yet hee that made it must needs tell all the things in it, so (wee said) it was here.

Another propounded this question after this answer, Whether *English* men were ever at any time so ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as themselves?

When wee perceived the root and reach of this question, wee gave them this answer, that there are two sorts of *English* men,

some are bad and naught, and live wickedly and loosely, (describing them) and these kind of English men wee told them were in a manner as ignorant of Jesus Christ as the *Indians* now are; but there are a second sort of English men, who though for a time they lived wickedly also like other prophane and ignorant English, yet repenting of their sinnes, and seeking after God and Jesus Christ, they are good men now, and now know Christ, and love Christ, and pray to Christ, and are thankfull for all they have to Christ, and shall at last when they dye, goe up to heaven to Christ; and we told them all these also were once as ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as the *Indians* are, but by seeking to know him by reading his booke, and hearing his word, and praying to him, &c. they now know Jesus Christ, and just so shall the *Indians* know him if they so seeke him also, although at the present they bee extremely ignorant of him.

How can there be an Image of God, because it's forbidden in the second Commandment?

Wee told them that Image was all one Picture, as the Picture of an *Indian*, Bow and Arrowes on a tree, with such little eyes and such faire hands, is not an *Indian* but the Picture or Image of an *Indian*, and that Picture man makes, and it can doe no hurt nor good. So the Image or Picture of God is not God, but wicked men make it, and this Image can doe no good nor hurt to any man as God can.

Whether, if the father bee naught, and the child good, will God bee offended with that child, because in the second Commandment it's said, that hee visits the sinnes of fathers upon the children?

Wee told them the plainest answer wee could thinke of, *viz.* that if the child bee good, and the father bad, God will not bee offended with the child, if hee repents of his owne and his fathers sinnes, and followes not the steps of his wicked father; but if the child bee also bad, then God will visit the sins of fathers upon them, and therefore wisht them to consider of the other part of the promise made to thousands of them that love God and the *Evan-genesih Jehovah*, *i.e.* the Commandments of Jehovah.

How all the world is become so full of people, if they were all once drowned in the Flood?

Wee told them the story and causes of *Noahs* preservation in the Arke at large, and so their questioning ended; and therefore wee then saw our time of propounding some few questions to them, and so take occasion thereby to open matters of God more fully.

Our first question was, Whether they did not desire to see God, and were not tempted to thinke that there was no God, because they cannot see him?

Some of them replied thus; that indeed they did desire to see him if it could bee, but they had heard from us that hee could not be seene, and they did beleive that though their eies could not see him, yet that hee was to bee seene with their soule within: Hereupon we sought to confirme them the more, and asked them if they saw a great *Wigwam*, or a great house, would they thinke that *Racoones* or *Foxes* built it that had no wisdom or would they thinke that it made it selfe? or that no wise workman made it, because they could not see him that made it? No but they would beleive some wise workman made it though they did not see him; so should they beleive concerning God, when they looked up to heaven, Sunne, Moone, and Stars, and saw this great house he hath made, though they do not see him with their eyes, yet they have good cause to beleive with their soules that a wise God, a great God made it.

We knowing that a great block in their way to beleiving is that there should bee but one God, (by the profession of the English) and yet this God in many places; therefore we asked them whether it did not seeme strange that there should bee but one God, and yet this God in *Massachusetts*, at *Coneetacut*, at *Quimipeiock*, in old England, in this *Wigwam*, in the next every where.

Their answer was by one most sober among them, that indeed it was strange, as every thing else they heard preached was strange also, and they were wonderfull things which they never heard of before; but yet they thought it might bee true, and that God was so big every where: whereupon we further illustrated what wee said, by wishing them to consider of the light of the Sun, which though it be but a creature made by God, yet the same light which is in this *Wigwam* was in the next also, and the same light which was here at *Massachusetts* was at *Quinipeiock* also and in old England also, and every where at one and the same time the same, much more was it so concerning God.

Whether they did not finde somewhat troubling them within after the commission of sin, as murther, adultery, theft, lying, &c. and what they thinke would comfort them against that trouble when they die and appeare before God, (for some knowledge of the immortality of the soule almost all of them have.)

They told us they were troubled, but they could not tell what to say to it, what should comfort them; hee therefore who spake

to them at first concluded with a dolefull description (so farre as his ability to speake in that tongue would carry him) of the trembling and mourning condition of every soul that dies in sinne, and that shall be cast out of favour with God.

Thus after three houres time thus spent with them, wee asked them if they were not weary, and they answered, No. But wee resolved to leave them with an appetite; the chiefe of them seeing us conclude with prayer, desired to know when wee would come againe, so wee appointed the time, and having given the children some apples, and the men some tobacco and what else we then had at hand, they desired some more ground to build a Town together, which wee did much like of, promising to speake for them to the generall Court, that they might possesse all the compasse of that hill, upon which their Wigwams then stood, and so wee departed with many welcomes from them.

A true relation of our coming to the Indians the second time.

Upon *November 11. 1646.* we came the second time unto the same Wigwam of *Wawwbon*, where we found many more Indians met together then the first time wee came to them: and having seates provided for us by themselves, and being sate downe a while, wee began againe with prayer in the English tongue; our beginning this time was with the younger sort of Indian children in Catechizing of them, which being the first time of instructing them, we thought meet to aske them but only three questions in their own language, that we might not clog their mindes or memories with too much at first, the questions (asked and answered in the Indian tongue) were these three, 1 *Qu.* Who made you and all the world? *Answ.* God. 2. *Qu.* Who doe you looke should save you and redeeme you from sinne and hell? *Answ.* Jesus Christ. 3. *Qu.* How many commandments hath God given you to keepe? *Answ.* Ten. These questions being propounded to the Children severally, and one by one, and the answers being short and easie, hence it came to passe that before wee went thorow all, those who were last catechized had more readily learned to answer to them, by hearing the same question so oft propounded and answered before by their fellowes; and the other Indians who were growne up to more yeares had perfectly learned them, whom wee therefore desired to teach their children againe when wee were absent, that so when wee came againe wee might see their profiting, the better to encourage them hereunto, wee therefore gave something to every childe.

This Catechisme being soone ended, hee that preached to them, began thus (speaking to them in their own language) *viz. Wee are come to bring you good newes from the great God Almighty maker of Heaven and Earth, and to tell you how evill and wicked men may come to bee good, so as while they live they may bee happy, and when they die they may goe to God and live in Heaven.* Having made this preface, hee began first to set forth God unto them by familiar descriptions, in his glorious power, goodnesse, and greatnesse, and then set forth before them what his will was, and what hee required of all men even of the Indians themselves, in the ten commandments, and then told them the dreadfull torment and punishment of all such as breake any one of those holy commandments, and how angry God was for any sinne and transgression, yet notwithstanding hee had sent Jesus Christ to die for their sinnes and to pacifie God by his sufferings in their stead and roome, if they did repent and beleeve the Gospell, and that hee would love the poore miserable Indians if now they sought God and beleaved in Jesus Christ: threatening the sore wrath of God upon all such as stood out and neglected such great salvation which now God offered unto them, by those who sought nothing more then their salvation: thus continuing to preach the space of an houre, we desired them to propound some questions; which were these following. Before I name them it may not be amisse to take notice of the mighty power of the word which visibly appeared especially in one of them, who in hearing these things about sinne and hell, and Jesus Christ, powred out many teares and shewed much affliction without affectation of being seene, desiring rather to conceale his grieffe which (as was gathered from his carriage) the Lord forced from him.

The first Question was suddenly propounded by an old man then present, who hearing faith and repentance preacht upon them to finde salvation by Jesus Christ, hee asked whether it was not too late for such an old man as hee, who was neare death to repent or seeke after God.

This Question affected us not a little with compassion, and we held forth to him the Bible, and told him what God said in it concerning such as are hired at the eleventh houre of the day: wee told him also that if a father had a sonne that had been disobedient many yeares, yet if at last that sonne fall downe upon his knees and weepe and desire his father to love him, his father is so mercifull that hee will readily forgive him and love him; so wee said it was much more with God who is a more mercifull

father to those whom hee hath made, then any father can bee to his rebellious childe whom he hath begot, if they fall downe and weepe, and pray, repent, and desire forgiveness for Jesus Christ's sake; and wee farther added that looke as if a father did call after his childe to returne and repent promising him favour, the childe might then bee sure that his father would forgive him; so wee told them that now was the day of God risen upon them, and that now the Lord was calling of them to repentance, and that he had sent us for that end to preach repentance for the remission of sins, and that therefore they might bee sure to finde favour though they had lived many yeares in sinne, and that therefore if now they did repent it was not too late as the old man feared, but if they did not come when they were thus called, God would bee greatly angry with them, especially considering that now they must sinne against knowledge, whereas before we came to them they knew not any thing of God at all.

Having spent much time in clearing up the first question, the next they propounded (upon our answer) was this, *viz.* How come the English to differ so much from the Indians in the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, seeing they had all at first but one father?

Wee confessed that it was true that at first wee had all but one father, but after that our first father fell, hee had divers children some were bad and some good, those that were bad would not take his counsell but departed from him and from God, and those God left alone in sinne and ignorance, but others did regard him and the counsell of God by him, and those knew God, and so the difference arose at first, that some together with their posterity knew God, and others did not; and so wee told them it was this day, for like as if an old man an aged father amongst them have many children, if some of them bee rebellious against the counsell of the father, he shuts them out of doores, and lets them goe, and regards them not, unlesse they returne and repent, but others that will bee ruled by him, they learne by him and come to know his minde; so wee said English men seek God, dwell in his house, heare his word, pray to God, instruct their children out of Gods booke, hence they come to know God; but Indians forefathers were stubborne and rebellious children, and would not heare the word, did not care to pray nor to teach their children, and hence Indians that now are, do not know God at all: and so must continue unlesse they repent, and returne to God and pray, and teach their children what they now may

learne: but withall wee told them that many English men did not know God but were like to *Kitchamakins* drunken Indians; Nor were wee willing to tell them the story of the scattering of *Noahs* children since the flood, and thereby to shew them how the Indians come to bee so ignorant, because it was too difficult, and the history of the Bible is reserved for them (if God will) to be opened at a more convenient season in their owne tongue.

Their third question was, How may wee come to serve God?

Wee asked him that did propound it whether he did desire indeed to serve him? and hee said, yes. Hereupon wee said, first, they must lament their blindnesse and sinfulness that they cannot serve him; and their ignorance of Gods booke (which wee pointed to) which directs how to serve him. Secondly, that they could not serve God but by seeking forgiveness of their sinnes and power against their sinnes in the blood of Jesus Christ who was preached to them. Thirdly, that looke as an Indian childe, if he would serve his father, hee must first know his fathers will and love his father too, or else he can never serve him, but if hee did know his fathers will and love him, then he would serve him, and then if hee should not doe some things as his father commands him, and yet afterwards grieve for it upon his knees before his father, his father would pity and accept him: so wee told them it was with God, they must labour to know his will and love God and then they will bee willing to serve him, and if they should then sin, yet grieving for it before God he would pity and accept of them.

Their fourth Question was, How it comes to passe that the Sea water was salt, and the Land water fresh.

'Tis so from the wonderfull worke of God, as why are Strawberries sweet and Cranberries sowre, there is no reason but the wonderfull worke of God that made them so: our study was chiefly to make them acknowledge God in his workes, yet wee gave them also the reason of it from naturall causes which they lesse understood, yet did understand somewhat appearing by their usuall signes of approving what they understand.

Their fifth Question was, that if the water was higher then the earth, how comes it to passe that it doth not overflow all the earth?

Wee still held God before them, and shewed that this must needs bee the wonderfull worke of God, and we tooke an apple and thereby shewed them how the earth and water made one round globe like that apple; and how the Sun moved about it;

and then shewed them how God made a great hole or ditch, into which hee put the waters of the Sea, so that though it was upon the earth and therefore above the earth, yet we told them that by making so deepe a hole the waters were kept within compasse that they could not overflow, just as if Indians making a hole to put in much water, the water cannot overflow nor runne abroad, which they would if they had no such hole; so it was with God, it was his mighty power that digged a hole for all Sea-waters, as a deepe ditch, and there by God kept them in from overflowing the whole earth, which otherwise would quickly drowne all.

They having spent much conference amongst themselves about these Questions and the night hastening, we desired them to propound some other Questions, or if not, we would aske them some, hereupon one of them asked us; If a man hath committed adultery or stolen any goods, and the Sachim doth not punish him, nor by any law is hee punished, if also he restore the goods he hath stolen, what then? whether is not all well now? meaning that if Gods Law was broken and no man punished him for it, that then no punishment should come from God for it, and as if by restoring againe an amends was made to God.

Although man be not offended for such sinnes yet God is angry, and his anger burnes like fire against all sinners: and here wee set out the holinesse and terrour of God in respect of the least sinne; yet if such a sinner with whom God is angry fly to Jesus Christ, and repent and seeke for mercy and pardon for Christ's sake, that then God will forgive and pity. Upon the hearing of which answer hee that propounded the question drew somewhat backe and hung downe his head as a man smitten to the very heart, with his eyes ready to drop, and within a little while after brake out into a complaint, Mee little know Jesus Christ, otherwise he thought he should seeke him better: we therefore told him, that looke as it was in the morning at first there is but a little light, then there is more light, then there is day, then the Sun is up, then the Sun warmes and heates, &c. so it was true they knew but little of Jesus Christ now, but wee had more to tell them concerning him hereafter, and after that more and after that more, untill at last they may come to know Christ as the English doe; and wee taught them but a little at a time, because they could understand but little, and if they prayed to God to teach them, he would send his Spirit and teach them more, they and their fathers had lived in ignorance untill now, it hath beene

a long night wherein they have slept and have not regarded God, but now the day-light began to stirre upon them, they might hope therefore for more ere long, to bee made knowne to them.

Thus having spent some houres with them, wee propounded two Questions.

What do you remember of what was taught you since the last time wee were here?

After they had spoken one to another for some time, one of them returned this answer, that they did much thanke God for our comming, and for what they heard, they were wonderfull things unto them.

Doe you beleeve the things that are told you, *viz.* that God is *musquantum*, *i.e.* very angry for the least sinne in your thoughts, or words, or workes?

They said yes, and hereupon wee set forth the terrour of God against sinners, and mercy of God to the penitent, and to such as sought to know Jesus Christ, and that as sinners should bee after death, *Chechainuppan*, *i.e.* tormented alive, (for wee know no other word in the tongue to expresse extreame torture by) so beleevers should after death *H'owein wicke Jehovah*, *i.e.* live in all blisse with *Jehovah* the blessed God: and so we concluded conference.

Having thus spent the whole afternoone, and night being almost come upon us; considering that the Indians formerly desired to know how to pray, and did thinke that Jesus Christ did not understand Indian language, one of us therefore prepared to pray in their own language, and did so for above a quarter of an houre together, wherein divers of them held up eies and hands to heaven; all of them (as wee understood afterwards) understanding the same; but one of them I cast my eye upon, was hanging downe his head with his rag before his eyes weeping; at first I feared it was some sorenesse of his eyes, but lifting up his head againe, having wiped his eyes (as not desirous to be seene) I easily perceived his eyes were not sore, yet somewhat red with crying; and so held up his head for a while, yet such was the presence and mighty power of the Lord Jesus on his heart that hee hung downe his head againe, and covered his eyes againe and so fell wiping and wiping of them weeping abundantly, continuing thus till prayer was ended, after which hee presently turnes from us, and turnes his face to a side and corner of the Wigwam, and there fals a weeping more abundantly by himselfe, which one of us perceiving, went to him, and spake to him

encouraging words; at the hearing of which hee fell a weeping more and more; so leaving of him, he who spake to him came unto mee (being newly gone out of the Wigwam) and told mee of his teares, so we resolved to goe againe both of us to him, and spake to him againe, and wee met him comming out of the Wigwam, and there wee spake againe to him, and he there fell into a more abundant renewed weeping, like one deeply and inwardly affected indeed, which forced us also to such bowels of compassion that wee could not forbear weeping over him also: and so wee parted greatly rejoicing for such sorrowing.

Thus I have as faithfully as I could remember given you a true account of our beginnings with the Indians within our owne bounds; which cannot but bee matter of more serious thoughts what further to doe with these poore Natives the dregs of mankinde and the saddest spectacle of misery of meere men upon earth: wee did thinke to forbear going to them this winter, but this last dayes worke wherein God set his seale from heaven of acceptance of our little, makes those of us who are able, to resolve to adventure thorow frost and snow, lest the fire goe out of their hearts for want of a little more fewall: to which we are the more encouraged, in that the next day after our being with them, one of the Indians came to his house who preacht to them to speake with him, who in private conference wept exceedingly, and said that all that night the Indians could not sleepe, partly with trouble of minde, and partly with wondring at the things they heard preacht amongst them; another Indian comming also to him the next day after, told him how many of the wicked sort of Indians began to oppose these beginnings.

Whence these Indians came here to inhabit is not certaine, his reasons are most probable who thinke they are Tartars passing out of *Asia* into *America* by the straits of *Anian*, who being split by some revenging hand of God upon this continent like water upon the ground are spread as farre as these *Atlanticke* shores, there being but few of them in these parts in comparison of those which are more contiguous to the *Anian* straits, if we may credit some Historians herein: what ever these conjectures and uncertainties bee, certaine it is, that they are inheritors of a grievous and fearefull curse living so long without Ephod or Teraphim, and in nearest alliance to the wilde beasts that perish; and as God delights to convey blessings of mercy to the posterity of some in respect of his promise to their fathers, so are curses entailed and come by naturall descent unto others, for some great sinnes

of their Ancestors, as no doubt it is in respect of these. Yet notwithstanding the deepest degeneracies are no stop to the overflowing grace and blood of Christ, when the time of love shall come, no not to these poore outcasts, the utmost ends of the earth being appointed to bee in time, the Sonne of Gods possession.

Wee are oft upbraided by some of our Countrymen that so little good is done by our professing planters upon the hearts of Natives; such men have surely more spleene then judgement, and know not the vast distance of Natives from common civility, almost humanity it selfe, and 'tis as if they should reproach us for not making the windes to blow when wee list our selves, it must certainly be a spirit of life from God (not in mans power) which must put flesh and sinewes unto these dry bones: if wee would force them to baptisme (as the Spaniards do about *Cusco*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, having learnt them a short answer or two to some Popish questions) or if wee would hire them to it by giving them coates and shirts, to allure them to it (as some others have done) wee could have gathered many hundreds, yea thousands it may bee by this time, into the name of Churches; but wee have not learnt as yet that art of coyning Christians, or putting Christs name and Image upon copper mettle. Although I thinke we have much cause to bee humbled that wee have not endeavoured more then wee have done their conversion and peace with God, who enjoy the mercy and peace of God in their land. Three things have made us thinke (as they once did of building the Temple) it is not yet time for God to worke, 1. Because till the Jewes come in, there is a seale set upon the hearts of those people, as they thinke from some Apocalypitcall places. 2. That as in nature there is no progresses *ab extremo ad extremum nisi per media*, so in religion such as are so extreemly degenerate, must bee brought to some civility before religion can prosper, or the word take place. 3. Because wee want miraculous and extraordinary gifts without which no conversion can bee expected amongst these; But me thinkes now that it is with the Indians as it was with our New-English ground when we first came over, there was scarce any man that could beleeve that English graine would grow, or that the Plow could doe any good in this woody and rocky soile. And thus they continued in this supine unbelieve for some yeares, till experience taught them otherwise, and now all see it to bee scarce inferiour to Old-English tillage, but beares very good burdens; so wee have thought of our Indian people,

and therefore have been discouraged to put plow to such dry and rocky ground, but God having begun thus with some few it may be they are better soil for the Gospel than we can think: I confesse I thinke no great good will be done till they be more civilized, but why may not God begin with some few, to awaken others by degrees? nor doe I expect any great good will be wrought by the English (leaving secrets to God) (although the English surely begin and lay the first stones of Christs Kingdome and Temple amongst them) because God is wont ordinarily to convert Nations and peoples by some of their owne country men who are nearest to them, and can best speake, and most of all pity their brethren and countrimen, but yet if the least beginnings be made by the conversion of two or three, its worth all our time and travailes, and cause of much thankfulness for such seedes, although no great harvests should immediately appeare; surely this is evident, first that they never heard heart-breaking prayer and preaching before now in their owne tongue, that we know of, secondly, that there were never such hopes of a dawning of mercy toward them as now, certainly those abundant teares which we saw shed from their eyes, argue a mighty and blessed presence of the spirit of Heaven in their hearts, which when once it comes into such kinde of spirits will not easily out againe.

The chiefe use that I can make of these hopefull beginnings, besides rejoycing for such shinings, is from *Esay 2. 5. Oh house of Israel, let us walke in the light of the Lord*; Considering that these blinde Natives beginne to looke towards Gods mountaine now.

The observations I have gathered by conversing with them are such as these.

That none of them slept Sermon or derided Gods messenger: Woe unto those English that are growne bold to doe that, which Indians will not, Heathens dare not.

That there is need of learning in Ministers who preach to Indians, much more to English men and gracious Christians, for these had sundry philosophical questions, which some knowledge of the arts must helpe to give answer to; and without which these would not have beene satisfied: worse then Indian ignorance hath blinded their eyes that renounce learning as an enemy to Gospell Ministeries.

That there is no necessity of extraordinary gifts nor miraculous signes alway to convert Heathens, who being manifest and professed unbelievers may expect them as soone as any; (signes

being given for them that beleve not 1 *Cor.* 14. 22.) much lesse is there any need of such gifts for gathering Churches amongst professing Christians, (signes not being given for them which beleve,) for wee see the Spirit of God working mightily upon the hearts of these Natives in an ordinary way, and I hope will; they being but a rennant, the Lord using to shew mercy to the remnant; for there be but few that are left alive from the Plague and Pox, which God sent into those parts, and if one or two can understand they usually talke of it as wee doe of newes, it flies suddainely farre and neare, and truth scattered will rise in time, for ought we know.

If English men begin to despise the preaching of faith and repentance, and humiliation for sinne, yet the poore Heathens will be glad of it, and it shall doe good to them; for so they are, and so it begins to doe; the Lord grant that the foundation of our English woe, be not laid in the ruine and contempt of those fundamentall doctrines of faith, repentance, humiliation for sin, &c. but rather relishing the novelties and dreames of such men as are surfetted with the ordinary food of the Gospell of Christ. Indians shall weepe to heare faith and repentance preached, when English men shall mourne, too late, that are weary of such truths.

That the deepest estrangements of man from God is no hindrance to his grace nor to the Spirit of grace, for what Nation or people ever so deeply degenerated since *Adams* fall as these Indians, and yet the Spirit of God is working upon them?

That it is very likely if ever the Lord convert any of these Natives, that they will mourne for sin exceedingly, and consequently love Christ dearely, for if by a little measure of light such heart-breakings have appeared, what may wee thinke will bee, when more is let in? they are some of them very wicked, some very ingenious, these latter are very apt and quick of understanding and naturally sad and melancholly (a good servant to repentance,) and therefore there is the greater hope of great heart-breakings, if ever God brings them effectually home, for which we should affectionately pray.

A third meeting with the Indians.

November 26. I could not goe my selfe, but heard from those who went of a third meeting; the Indians having built more Wigwams in the wonted place of meeting to attend upon the Word

the more readily. The preacher understanding how many of the Indians discouraged their fellowes in this worke, and threatening death to some if they heard any more, spake therefore unto them, about temptations of the Devill, how hee tempted to all manner of sinne, and how the evill heart closed with them, and how a good heart abhorred them; the Indians were this day more serious then ever before, and propounded divers questions againe; as 1. Because some Indians say that we must pray to the Devill for all good, and some to God; they would know whether they might pray to the Devill or no. 2. They said they heard the word humiliation oft used in our Churches, and they would know what that meant? 3. Why the English call them Indians, because before they came they had another name? 4. What a Spirit is? 5. Whether they should beleieve Dreames? 6. How the English come to know God so much and they so little? To all which they had fit answers; but being not present I shall not set them downe: onely their great desire this time was to have a place for a Towne and to learne to spinne.

Sir, I did thinke I should have writ no more to you concerning the Indians; but the Ship lingers in the Harbour, and the Lord Jesus will have you see more of his conquests and triumphes among these forlorne and degenerate people; surely hee heares the prayers of the destitute and that have long lien downe in the dust before God for these poore prisoners of the pit: surely some of these American tongues and knees must confesse him, and bow downe before him: for the Saturday night after this third meeting (as I am informed from that man of God who then preached to them) there came to his house one *Wampas* a wise and sage Indian, as a messenger sent to him from the rest of the company, to offer unto him his owne sonne and three more Indian children to bee trained up among the English, one of the children was nine yeares old, another eight, another five, another foure: and being demanded why they would have them brought up among the English, his answer was, because they would grow rude and wicked at home, and would never come to know God, which they hoped they should doe if they were constantly among the English.

This *Wampas* came also accompanied with two more Indians, young lusty men, who offered themselves voluntarily to the service of the English that by dwelling in some of their families, they might come to know Jesus Christ; these are two of those three men whom wee saw weeping, and whose hearts were smitten

at our second meeting above mentioned, and continue still much affected, and give great hopes; these two are accepted of and received into two of the Elders houses, but the children are not yet placed out because it is most meet to doe nothing that way too suddainly, but they have a promise of acceptance and education of them either in learning or in some other trade of life in time convenient, to which *Wampas* replied that the Indians desired nothing more.

These two young men who are thus disposed of, being at an Elders house upon the Sabbath day night, upon some conference with them, one of them began to confesse how wickedly he had lived, and with how many *Indian* women hee had committed filthinesse, and therefore professed that hee thought God would never looke upon him in love. To which hee had this answer, that indeed that sinne of whoredome was exceeding great, yet if hee sought God for Christs sake to pardon him, and confesse his sinne and repented of it indeed, that the Lord would shew him mercy; and hereupon acquainted him with the story of Christs conference with the Samaritan woman, *John 4.* and how Jesus Christ forgave her although shee lived in that sinne of filthinesse, even when Christ began to speake to her: whereupon he fell a weeping and lamenting bitterly, and the other young man being present and confessing the like guiltinesse with his fellow, hee burst out also into a great mourning, wherein both continued for above halfe an houre together at that time also.

It is wonderfull to see what a little leaven and that small mustard-seed of the Gospell will doe, and how truth will worke when the spirit of Christ hath the setting of it on, even upon hearts and spirits most uncapable; for the last night after they had heard the word this third time, there was an English youth of good capacitie who lodged in *Waubons Wigwam* that night upon speciall occasion, and hee assured us that the same night *Waubon* instructed all his company out of the things which they had heard that day from the Preacher, and prayed among them, and awaking often that night continually fell to praying and speaking to some or other of the things hee hath heard, so that this man (being a man of gravitie and chiefe prudence and counsell among them, although no *Sachem*) is like to bee a meanes of great good to the rest of his company unlesse cowardise or witchery put an end (as usually they have done) to such hopefull beginnings.

The old man who askt the first question the second time of

our meeting (*viz.* whether there was any hope for such old men or no) hath six sonnes, one of his sonnes was a *Pawraw*, and his wife a great *Pawraw*, and both these God hath convinced of their wickednesse, and they resolve to heare the word and seeke to the devill no more. This, the two *Indians* who are come to us acquaint us with, and that they now say, that *Chepian*, *i.e.* the devill is naught, and that God is the author onely of all good as they have been taught. Hee therefore who preacheth to the *Indians* desired them to tell him who were *Pawraws* when hee went againe to preach amongst them; and upon speciall occasion this *Decemb.* 4. being called of God to another place where the *Indians* use to meet, and having preacht among them, after the Sermon, hee that was the *Pawraw* of that company was discovered to him, to whom hee addressed himselfe and propounded these questions, *viz.* 1. Whether doe you thinke that God or *Chepian* is the author of all good? he answered, God. 2. If God bee the author of all good, why doe you pray to *Chepian* the devill? The *Pawraw* perceiving him to propound the last question with a sterne countenance and unaccustomed terrour, hee gave him no answer, but spake to other *Indians* that hee did never hurt any body by his *Pawrawing*, and could not bee got by all the meanes and turnings of questions that might bee, to give the least word of answer againe; but a little after the conference was ended, hee met with this *Pawraw* alone and spak more lovingly and curteously to him, and askt him why hee would not answer, he then told him that his last question struck a terrour into him and made him afraid, and promised that at the next meeting hee would propound some question to him as others did.

And here it may not bee amisse to take notice of what these two *Indians* have discovered to us concerning these *Pawraws*: for they were askt how they came to bee made *Pawraws*, and they answered thus, that if any of the *Indians* fall into any strange dreame wherein *Chepian* appeares unto them as a serpent, then the next day they tell the other *Indians* of it, and for two dayes after the rest of the *Indians* dance and rejoyce for what they tell them about this Serpent, and so they become their *Pawraws*: Being further askt what doe these *Pawraws*, and what use are they of; and they said the principall imployment is to cure the sick by certaine odde gestures and beatings of themselves, and then they pull out the sicknesse by applying their hands to the sick person and so blow it away: so that their *Pawraws* are great

witches having fellowship with the old Serpent, to whom they pray, and by whose meanes they heale sicke persons, and (as they said also) will shew many strange juglings to the wonderment of the *Indians*. They affirmed also that if they did not cure the sick party (as very often they did not) that then they were reviled, and sometime killed by some of the dead mans friends, especially if they could not get their mony againe out of their hands, which they receive aforehand for their cure.

Wee have cause to be very thankfull to God who hath moved the hearts of the generall court to purchase so much land for them to make their towne in which the *Indians* are much taken with,* and it is somewhat observable that while the Court were considering where to lay out their towne, the *Indians* (not knowing of any thing) were about that time consulting about Lawes for themselves, and their company who sit downe with *Waaubon*; there were ten of them, two of them are forgotten.

Their Lawes were these.

1. That if any man be idle a weeke, at most a fortnight, hee shall pay five shillings.

2. If any unmarried man shall lie with a young woman unmarried, hee shall pay twenty shillings.

3. If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall bee tied behind him and carried to the place of justice to bee severely punished.

4. Every young man if not anothers servant, and if unmarried, hee shall be compelled to set up a *Wigwam* and plant for himselfe, and not live shifting up and downe to other *Wigwams*.

5. If any woman shall not have her haire tied up but hang loose or be cut as mens haire, she shall pay five shillings.

6. If any woman shall goe with naked breasts they shall pay two shillings six pence.

7. All those men that weare long locks shall pay five shillings.

8. If any shall kill their lice betweene their teeth, they shall pay five shillings. This Law though ridiculous to English eares yet tends to preserve cleanlinesse among *Indians*.

'Tis wonderfull in our eyes to understand by these two honest *Indians*, what Prayers *Waaubon* and the rest of them use to make, for hee that preacheth to them professeth hee never yet

* This towne the *Indians* did desire to know what name it should have, and it was told them it should bee called *Noonatomen*, which signifies in English joycing, because they hearing the word, and seeking to know God, the English did joyce at it, and God did joyce at it, which pleased them much; & therefore that is to be the name of their towne.

used any of their words in his prayers, from whom otherwise it might bee thought that they had learnt them by rote, one is this.

Amaniomien Jehovan ianassen melagh.

Take away Lord my stony heart.

Another.

Chechesom Jehovah kekouhogkow.

Wash Lord my soule.

Another.

Lord lead mee when I die to heaven.

These are but a taste, they have many more, and these more enlarged then thus expressed, yet what are these but the sprinklings of the spirit and blood of Christ Jesus in their hearts? and 'tis no small matter that such dry barren and long-cursed ground should yeeld such kind of increase in so small a time. I would not readily commend a faire day before night, nor promise much of such kind of beginnings, in all persons, nor yet in all of these, for wee know the profession of very many is but a meere paint, and their best graces nothing but meere flashes and pangs, which are suddenly kindled and as soone go out and are extinct againe, yet God doth not usually send his Plough & Seedsman to a place but there is at least some little peece of good ground, although three to one bee naught: and mee thinkes the Lord Jesus would never have made so fit a key for their locks, unlesse hee had intended to open some of their doores, and so to make way for his comming in. Hee that God hath raised up and enabled to preach unto them, is a man (you know) of a most sweet, humble, loving, gracious and enlarged spirit, whom God hath blest, and surely will still delight in. & do good by. I did think never to have opened my mouth to any, to desire those in England to further any good worke here, but now I see so many things inviting to speak in this businesse, that it were well if you did lay before those that are prudent and able these considerations.

1. That it is prettie heavy and chargeable to educate and traine up those children which are already offered us, in schooling, cloathing, diet and attendance, which they must have.

2. That in all probabilitie many *Indians* in other places, especially under our jurisdiction, will bee provoked by this example in these, both to desire preaching, and also to send their children to us, when they see that some of their fellowes iare so well among the English, and the civill authoritie here so much favouring and countenancing of these, and if many more come

in, it will bee more heavy to such as onely are fit to keepe them, and yet have their hands and knees infeebled so many wayes besides.

3. That if any shall doe any thing to incourage this worke, that it may bee given to the Colledge for such an end and use, that so from the Colledge may arise the yeerly revenue for their yeerly maintenance. I would not have it placed in any particular mans hand for feare of cousenage or misplacing or carelesse keeping and improving; but at the Colledge it's under many hands and eyes the chief and best of the country who have been & will be exactly carefull of the right and comely disposing of such things; and therefore, if any thing bee given, let it bee put in such hands as may immediately direct it to the President of the Colledge, who you know will soone acquaint the rest with it; and for this end if any in England have thus given any thing for this end, I would have them speake to those who have received it to send it this way, which if it bee withheld I thinke 'tis no lesse then sacriledge: but if God moves no hearts to such a work, I doubt not then but that more weake meanes shall have the honour of it in the day of Christ.

A fourth meeting with the Indians.

This day being *Decemb. 9.* the children being catechised, and that place of *Ezekiel* touching the dry bones being opened, and applied to their condition; the *Indians* offered all their children to us to bee educated amongst us, and instructed by us, complaining to us that they were not able to give any thing to the English for their education: for this reason there are therefore preparations made towards the schooling of them, and setting up a Schoole among them or very neare unto them. Sundry questions also were propounded by them to us, and of us to them; one of them being askt what is sinne? hee answered a naughty heart. Another old man complained to us of his feares, *viz.* that hee was fully purposed to keepe the Sabbath, but still hee was in feare whether he should goe to hell or heaven; and thereupon the justification of a sinner by faith in Christ was opened unto him as the remedy against all feares of hell. Another complained of other *Indians* that did revile them, and call them Rogues and such like speeches for cutting off their Locks, and for cutting their Haire in a modest manner as the New-English generally doe; for since the word hath begun to worke upon their

hearts, they have discerned the vanitie and pride which they placed in their haire, and have therefore of their owne accord (none speaking to them that we know of) cut it modestly; they were therefore encouraged by some there present of chiefe place and account with us, not to feare the reproaches of wicked *Indians*, nor their witch-craft and *Pawwaws* and poysonings, but let them know that if they did not dissemble but would seeke God unfaignedly, that they would stand by them, and that God also would be with them. They told us also of divers *Indians* who would come and stay with them three or foure dayes, and one Sabbath, and then they would goe from them, but as for themselves, they told us they were fully purposed to keepe the Sabbath, to which wee encouraged them, and night drawing on were forced to leave them, for this time.

FROM ELIOT'S DEDICATION TO KING CHARLES THE SECOND OF HIS
INDIAN TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The people of these four Colonies (Confederate for mutual Defence in the time of the late Distractions of our dear Native Country) Your Majesties natural born Subjects, by the Favour and Grant of Your Royal Father and Grandfather of Famous Memory, put themselves upon this great and hazardous Undertaking, of Planting themselves at their own Charge in these remote ends of the Earth, that without offence or provocation to our dear Bretheren and Countrymen, we might enjoy that liberty to Worship God, which our own Conscience informed us, was not onely our Right, but Duty: As also that we might (if it so pleased God) be instrumental to spread the light of the Gospel, the knowledge of the Son of God our Saviour, to the poor barbarous Heathen, which by His late Majesty, in some of our Patents, is declared to be His principal aim.

These honest and pious Intentions, have, through the grace and goodness of God and our Kings, been seconded with proportionable success: for, omitting the Immunities indulged us by Your Highness Royal Predecessors, we have been greatly encouraged by your Majesties gracious expressions of Favour and Approbation signified, unto the *Address* made by the principal of our Colonies, to which the rest do most cordially Subscribe, though wanting the like seasonable opportunity, they have been (till now) deprived of the means to Congratulate Your Majesties happy Restitution, after Your long suffering, which we implore may yet be graciously accepted, that we may be equal partakers of Your Royal Favour and Moderation; which hath been so Illustrious that (to admiration) the animosities and different Perswasions of men have been so soon Composed, and so much cause of hope, that (unless the sins of the Nation prevent) a blessed Calm will succeed the late horrid Confusions of Church and State. And shall not we (*Dread Sovereign*) your Subjects of these Colonies, of the same Faith and Belief in all Points of Doctrine with our Countrymen, and the other Reformed Churches (though perhaps not alike perswaded in

some matters of Order, which in outward respects hath been unhappy for us) promise and assure our selves of all just favour and indulgence from a Prince so happily and graciously endowed?

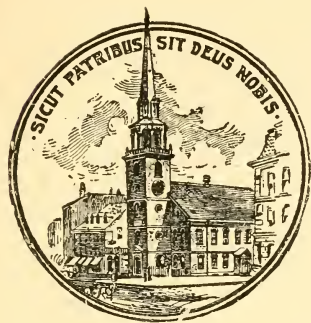
The other part of our Errand hither, hath been attended with Endeavours and Blessing; many of the wilde *Indians* being taught, and understanding the Doctrine of the Christian Religion, and with much affection attending such Preachers as are sent to teach them, many of their Children are instructed to Write and Reade, and some of them have proceeded further, to attain the knowledge of the Latine and Greek Tongues, and are brought up with our English youth in University-learning: There are divers of them that can and do reade some parts of the Scripture, and some Catechisms, which formerly have been Translated into their own Language, which hath occasioned the undertaking of a greater Work, *viz*: The Printing of the whole Bible, which (being Translated by a painful Labourer amongst them, who was desirous to see the Work accomplished in his dayes) hath already proceeded to the finishing of the New Testament, which we here humbly present to Your Majesty, as the first fruits and accomplishment of the Pious Design of Your Royal Ancestors. The Old Testament is now under the Press, wanting and craving your Royal Favour and Assistance for the perfecting thereof.

The reports by Eliot and others of the early work among the Indians of New England are well noticed in the following paragraph by Charles Deane, in the notes appended to his chapter on New England, in the third volume of the Narrative and Critical History of America. The student is also referred to Old South Leaflets, Nos. 21 and 52 — Eliot's "Brief Narrative" and Eliot's "Indian Grammar Begun" — which contains full historical and bibliographical notes. Most of the tracts referred to by Mr. Deane in the following paragraph are reprinted in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1834: —

By Edward Winslow's influence a corporation was created for Parliament, in 1649, for propagating the Gospel among the Indian tribes in New England, and some of the accounts of the progress of the missions, sent over from the colony, were published in London by the corporation. The conversion of the natives was one object set forth in the Massachusetts charter; and Roger Williams had, while a resident of Massachusetts and Plymouth, taken a deep interest in them, and in 1643, while on a voyage to England, he drew up *A Key unto the Language of America*, published that year in London. In that same year there was also published in London a small tract called *New England's First Fruit*, first in respect to the college and second in respect to the Indians. Some hopeful instances of conversion among the natives were briefly given in this tract. In 1647 a more full relation of Eliot's labors was sent over to Winslow, who the year before had arrived in England as agent of Massachusetts, and printed under the title *The Day breaking, if not the Sun rising of the Gospel of the Indians in New England*. In the following year, 1648, a narrative was published in London, written by Thomas Shepard, called *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians*, etc.; and this in 1649 was followed by *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England*, setting forth the labors of Eliot and Mayhew. The Rev. Henry Whitfield, who had been pastor of a church in Guilford, Connecticut, returned to England in 1650; and in the following year he published in London *The Light appearing more and more towards the Perfect Day*, and in 1652 *Strength out of Weakness*, both containing accounts, written chiefly by Eliot, of the progress of his labors. His last tract was the first of those published by the corporation, which continued thenceforth, for several years, to publish the record of the missions as they were sent over from the colony. In 1653 a tract appeared under the title of *Tears of Repentance*, etc.; in 1655, *A late and further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel*, etc.; in 1659, *A further Account*, etc.; and, in 1660, *A further Account* — still. Eliot's literary labors in behalf of the Massachusetts Indians culminated in the translation of the Bible into their dialect, and its publication through the Cambridge press. The Testament was printed in 1661, and the whole Bible in 1663; and second editions of each appeared, the former in 1680 and the latter in 1685.

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Education and Prosperity.

By HORACE MANN.

FROM HIS TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT AS SECRETARY OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION, 1848.

A cardinal object which the government of Massachusetts, and all the influential men in the State, should propose to themselves, is the physical well-being of all the people,—the sufficiency, comfort, competence, of every individual in regard to food, raiment, and shelter. And these necessaries and conveniences of life should be obtained by each individual for himself, or by each family for themselves, rather than accepted from the hand of charity or extorted by poor-laws. It is not averred that this most desirable result can, in all instances, be obtained; but it is, nevertheless, the end to be aimed at. True statesmanship and true political economy, not less than true philanthropy, present this perfect theory as the goal, to be more and more closely approximated by our imperfect practice. The desire to achieve such a result cannot be regarded as an unreasonable ambition; for, though all mankind were well fed, well clothed, and well housed, they might still be but half civilized.

Poverty is a public as well as a private evil. There is no physical law necessitating its existence. The earth contains abundant resources for ten times—doubtless for twenty times—its present inhabitants. Cold, hunger, and nakedness are not, like death, an inevitable lot. There are many single States in this Union which could supply an abundance of edible products for

the inhabitants of the thirty States that compose it. There are single States capable of raising a sufficient quantity of cotton to clothe the whole nation; and there are other States having sufficient factories and machinery to manufacture it. The coal-fields of Pennsylvania are sufficiently abundant to keep every house in the land at the temperature of sixty-five degrees for centuries to come. Were there to be a competition, on the one hand, to supply wool for every conceivable fabric, and, on the other, to wear out these fabrics as fast as possible, the single State of New York would beat the whole country. There is, indeed, no assignable limit to the capacities of the earth for producing whatever is necessary for the sustenance, comfort, and improvement of the race. Indigence, therefore, and the miseries and degradations incident to indigence, seem to be no part of the eternal ordinances of Heaven. The bounty of God is not brought into question or suspicion by its existence; for man who suffers it might have avoided it. Even the wealth which the world now has on hand is more than sufficient to supply all the rational wants of every individual in it. Privations and sufferings exist, not from the smallness of its sum, but from the inequality of its distribution. Poverty is set over against profusion. In some all healthy appetite is cloyed and sickened by repletion; while in others the stomach seems to be a supernumerary organ in the system, or, like the human eye or human lungs before birth, is waiting to be transferred to some other region, where its functions may come into use. One gorgeous palace absorbs all the labor and expense that might have made a thousand hovels comfortable. That one man may ride in carriages of Oriental luxury, hundreds of other men are turned into beasts of burden. To supply a superfluous wardrobe for the gratification of one man's pride, a thousand women and children shiver with cold; and for every flash of the diamonds that royalty wears there is a tear of distress in the poor man's dwelling. Not one Lazarus, but a hundred, sit at the gate of Dives. Tantalus is no fiction. The ancient one might have been fabulous; but the modern ones are terrible realities. Millions are perishing in the midst of superfluities.

According to the European theory, men are divided into classes, —some to toil and earn, others to seize and enjoy. According to the Massachusetts theory, all are to have an equal chance for earning, and equal security in the enjoyment of what they earn. The latter tends to equality of condition; the former, to the gross-

est inequalities. Tried by any Christian standard of morals, or even by any of the better sort of heathen standards, can any one hesitate, for a moment, in declaring which of the two will produce the greater amount of human welfare, and which, therefore, is the more conformable to the divine will? The European theory is blind to what constitutes the highest glory as well as the highest duty of a State. Its advocates and admirers are forgetful of that which should be their highest ambition, and proud of that which constitutes their shame. How can any one possessed of the attributes of humanity look with satisfaction upon the splendid treasures, the golden regalia, deposited in the Tower of London or in Windsor Palace, each "an India in itself," while thousands around are dying of starvation, or have been made criminals by the combined forces of temptation and neglect? The present condition of Ireland cancels all the glories of the British crown. The brilliant conception which symbolizes the nationality of Great Britain as a superb temple, whose massive and grand proportions are upheld and adorned by the four hundred and thirty Corinthian columns of the aristocracy, is turned into a loathing and a scorn when we behold the five millions of paupers that cower and shiver at its base. The galleries and fountains of Versailles, the Louvre of Paris, her Notre Dame, and her Madeleine, though multiplied by thousands in number and in brilliancy, would be no atonement for the hundred thousand Parisian *ouvriers* without bread and without work. The galleries of painting and of sculpture at Rome, at Munich, or at Dresden, which body forth the divinest ideals ever executed or ever conceived, are but an abomination in the sight of Heaven and of all good men, while actual living beings—beings that have hearts to palpitate, and nerves to agonize, and affections to be crushed or corrupted—are experimenting all around them upon the capacities of human nature for suffering and for sin. Where standards like these exist, and are upheld by council and by court, by fashion and by law, *Christianity is yet to be discovered*; at least, it is yet to be applied in practice to the social condition of men.

Our ambition as a State should trace itself to a different origin, and propose to itself a different object. Its flame should be lighted at the skies. Its radiance and its warmth should reach the darkest and the coldest abodes of men. It should seek the solution of such problems as these: To what extent can competence displace pauperism? How nearly can we free ourselves from the

low-minded and the vicious, not by their expatriation, but by their elevation? To what extent can the resources and powers of Nature be converted into human welfare, the peaceful arts of life be advanced, and the vast treasures of human talent and genius be developed? How much of suffering, in all its forms, can be relieved? or, what is better than relief, how much can be prevented? Cannot the classes of crimes be lessened, and the number of criminals in each class be diminished? Our exemplars, both for public and for private imitation, should be the parables of the lost sheep and of the lost piece of silver. When we have spread competence through all the abodes of poverty, when we have substituted knowledge for ignorance in the minds of the whole people, when we have reformed the vicious and reclaimed the criminal, then may we invite all neighboring nations to behold the spectacle, and say to them in the conscious elation of virtue, "Rejoice with me, for I have found that which was lost." Until that day shall arrive, our duties will not be wholly fulfilled, and our ambition will have new honors to win.

But is it not true that Massachusetts, in some respects, instead of adhering more and more closely to her own theory, is becoming emulous of the baneful examples of Europe? The distance between the two extremes of society is lengthening instead of being abridged. With every generation, fortunes increase on the one hand, and some new privation is added to poverty on the other. We are verging towards those extremes of opulence and of penury, each of which unhumanizes the human mind. A perpetual struggle for the bare necessities of life, without the ability to obtain them, makes men wolfish. Avarice, on the other hand, sees, in all the victims of misery around it, not objects for pity and succor, but only crude materials to be worked up into more money.

I suppose it to be the universal sentiment of all those who mingle any ingredient of benevolence with their notions on political economy that vast and overshadowing private fortunes are among the greatest dangers to which the happiness of the people in a republic can be subjected. Such fortunes would create a feudalism of a new kind, but one more oppressive and unrelenting than that of the middle ages. The feudal lords in England and on the Continent never held their retainers in a more abject condition of servitude than the great majority of foreign manufacturers and capitalists hold their operatives and laborers at the present day. The means employed are different; but the

similarity in results is striking. What force did then, money does now. The villein of the middle ages had no spot of earth on which he could live, unless one were granted to him by his lord. The operative or laborer of the present day has no employment, and therefore no bread, unless the capitalist will accept his services. The vassal had no shelter but such as his master provided for him. Not one in five thousand of English operatives or farm-laborers is able to build or own even a hovel; and therefore they must accept such shelter as capital offers them. The baron prescribed his own terms to his retainers: those terms were peremptory, and the serf must submit or perish. The British manufacturer or farmer prescribes the rate of wages he will give to his work-people: he reduces these wages under whatever pretext he pleases; and they, too, have no alternative but submission or starvation. In some respects, indeed, the condition of the modern dependent is more forlorn than that of the corresponding serf class in former times. Some attributes of the patriarchal relation did spring up between the lord and his lieges to soften the harsh relations subsisting between them. Hence came some oversight of the condition of children, some relief in sickness, some protection and support in the decrepitude of age. But only in instances comparatively few have kindly offices smoothed the rugged relation between British capital and British labor. The children of the work-people are abandoned to their fate; and notwithstanding the privations they suffer, and the dangers they threaten, no power in the realm has yet been able to secure them an education; and when the adult laborer is prostrated by sickness, or eventually worn out by toil and age, the poorhouse, which has all along been his destination, becomes his destiny.

Now two or three things will doubtless be admitted to be true, beyond all controversy, in regard to Massachusetts. By its industrial condition, and its business operations, it is exposed, far beyond any other State in the Union, to the fatal extremes of overgrown wealth and desperate poverty. Its population is far more dense than that of any other State. It is four or five times more dense than the average of all the other States taken together; and density of population has always been one of the proximate causes of social inequality. According to population and territorial extent there is far more capital in Massachusetts—capital which is movable, and instantaneously available—than in any other State in the Union; and probably both these qual

ifications respecting population and territory could be omitted without endangering the truth of the assertion. It has been recently stated in a very respectable public journal, on the authority of a writer conversant with the subject, that from the last of June, 1846, to the first of August, 1848, the amount of money invested by the citizens of Massachusetts "in manufacturing cities, railroads, and other improvements," is "fifty-seven millions of dollars, of which more than fifty has been paid in and expended." The dividends to be received by citizens of Massachusetts from June, 1848, to April, 1849, are estimated by the same writer at ten millions, and the annual increase of capital at "little short of twenty-two millions." If this be so, are we not in danger of naturalizing and domesticating among ourselves those hideous evils which are always engendered between capital and labor, when all the capital is in the hands of one class and all the labor is thrown upon another?

Now surely nothing but universal education can counterwork this tendency to the domination of capital and the servility of labor. If one class possesses all the wealth and the education, while the residue of society is ignorant and poor, it matters not by what name the relation between them may be called: the latter, in fact and in truth, will be the servile dependants and subjects of the former. But, if education be equably diffused, it will draw property after it by the strongest of all attractions; for such a thing never did happen, and never can happen, as that an intelligent and practical body of men should be permanently poor. Property and labor in different classes are essentially antagonistic; but property and labor in the same class are essentially fraternal. The people of Massachusetts have, in some degree, appreciated the truth that the unexampled prosperity of the State—its comfort, its competence, its general intelligence and virtue—is attributable to the education, more or less perfect, which all its people have received; but are they sensible of a fact equally important,—namely, that it is to this same education that two-thirds of the people are indebted for not being to-day the vassals of as severe a tyranny, in the form of capital, as the lower classes of Europe are bound to in the form of brute force?

Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men,—the balance-wheel of the social machinery. I do not here mean that it so elevates the moral nature as to make men disdain and abhor the oppression of their fellow-men. This idea pertains to another of its

attributes. But I mean that it gives each man the independence and the means by which he can resist the selfishness of other men. It does better than to disarm the poor of their hostility towards the rich: it prevents being poor. Agrarianism is the revenge of poverty against wealth. The wanton destruction of the property of others—the burning of hay-ricks and corn-ricks, the demolition of machinery because it supersedes hand-labor, the sprinkling of vitriol on rich dresses—is only agrarianism run mad. Education prevents both the revenge and the madness. On the other hand, a fellow-feeling for one's class or caste is the common instinct of hearts not wholly sunk in selfish regards for person or for family. The spread of education, by enlarging the cultivated class or caste, will open a wider area over which the social feelings will expand; and, if this education should be universal and complete, it would do more than all things else to obliterate factitious distinctions in society.

The main idea set forth in the creeds of some political reformers, or revolutionizers, is that some people are poor *because* others are rich. This idea supposes a fixed amount of property in the community, which by fraud or force, or arbitrary law, is unequally divided among men; and the problem presented for solution is how to transfer a portion of this property from those who are supposed to have too much to those who feel and know that they have too little. At this point, both their theory and their expectation of reform stop. But the beneficent power of education would not be exhausted, even though it should peaceably abolish all the miseries that spring from the coexistence, side by side, of enormous wealth and squalid want. It has a higher function. Beyond the power of diffusing old wealth it has the prerogative of creating new. It is a thousand times more lucrative than fraud, and adds a thousand-fold more to a nation's resources than the most successful conquests. Knaves and robbers can obtain only what was before possessed by others. But education creates or develops new treasures,—treasures not before possessed or dreamed of by any one.

Had mankind been endowed with only the instincts and faculties of the brute creation, there are hundreds of the irrational tribes to which they would have been inferior, and of which they would have been the prey. Did they, with other animals, roam a common forest, how many of their fellow-tenants of the wood would overcome them by superior force, or outstrip them by greater fleetness, or circumvent them by a sharper cunning!

There are but few of the irrational tribes whose bodies are not better provided with the means of defence or attack than is the body of a man. The claws and canine teeth of the lion and of the whole tiger family, the beak and talons of the eagle and the vulture, the speed of the deer and of other timid races, are means of assault or of escape far superior to any we possess; and all the power which we have, like so many of the reptile and insect classes, of secreting a deadly venom, either for protection or for aggression, has relation to moral venom, and not to physical.

In a few lines, nowhere surpassed in philosophic strength and beauty, Pope groups together the remarkable qualities of several different races of animals,—the strength of one class, the genial covering of another, the fleetness of a third. He brings vividly to our recollection the lynx's vision of excelling keenness, the sagacity of the hound that reads a name or a sign in the last vanishing odor of a footprint, the exquisite fineness of the spider's touch, and that chemical nicety by which the bee discriminates between honey and poison in the same flower-cup. He then closes with an interrogatory, which has human reason both for its subject and its object:—

“The powers of all subdued by thee alone:
Is not thy reason all these powers in one?”

When Pope, now a little more than a century ago, mingled these beauties with his didactic strains, he had no conception, the world at that time had no conception, of other powers and properties, infinitely more energetic and more exhaustless than all which the animal races possess, to which the reason of man is an equivalent. It was not then known that God had endued the earth and the elements with energies and activities as much superior to those which animals or men possess as the bulk and frame of the earth itself exceeds their diminutive proportions. It was not then known that the earth is a great reservoir of powers, and that any man is free to use any quantity of them if he will but possess himself of the key of knowledge,—the only key, but the infallible one, by which to unlock their gates. At that time, if a philosopher wished to operate a mechanical toy, he could lift or pump a few gallons of water for a moving-power; but it was not understood that Nature, by the processes of evaporation and condensation, is constantly lifting up into the sky, and pouring back upon the earth, all the mass of waters that flow in all the rivers of the world, and that, in order to perform the work

of the world, the weight of all these waters might be used again and again in each one of their perpetual circuits.* The power-press and the power-loom, the steamboat and the locomotive, the paper-machine and the telegraph, were not then known. All these instruments of human comfort and aggrandizement, and others almost innumerable, similar to them, are operated by the energies and the velocities of Nature; and, had Pope grouped together all the splendid profusion and prodigality of her powers, he might still have appealed to man, and said,—

“Is not thy reason all these powers in one?”

To the weight of waters, the velocity of winds, the expansive force of heat, and other kindred agencies, any man may go, and he may draw from them as much as he pleases without money and without price: or rather, I should say, any educated man may go; for Nature flouts and scorns, and seems to abhor, an ignorant man. She drowns him, and consumes him, and tears him in pieces, if he but ventures to profane with his touch her divinely wrought machinery.

Now these powers of Nature, by being enlisted in the service of man, ADD to the wealth of the world,—unlike robbery or slavery or agrarianism, which aim only at the appropriation, by one man or one class, of the wealth belonging to another man or class. One man, with a Foudrinier, will make more paper in a twelvemonth than all Egypt could have made in a hundred years during the reign of the Ptolemies. One man, with a power-press, will print books faster than a million of scribes could copy them before the invention of printing. One man, with an iron-foundry, will make more utensils or machinery than Tubal-Cain could have made, had he worked diligently till this time.† And so in all the departments of mechanical labor, in the whole circle of the useful arts. These powers of Nature are able to give to all the inhabitants of the earth, not merely shelter, covering, and food, but all the means of refinement, embellishment, and mental improvement. In the most strict and literal sense, they are bounties which God gives for proficiency in knowledge.

The above ideas are beginning to be pretty well understood

* The waters of the Blackstone River, which flows partly in Massachusetts and partly in Rhode Island, are used for driving mills, twenty-five times over, in a distance of less than forty miles.

† In 1740, the whole amount of iron made in England and Wales was seventeen thousand tons; in 1840 it was more than a million tons, notwithstanding all that had been manufactured and accumulated in the intervening century. What would a Jewish or a Roman artificer have said to an annual product of a million tons of iron?

by all men of respectable intelligence. I have adverted to them, not so much on their own account as by way of introduction or preface to two or three considerations, which certainly are not understood or not appreciated, as they deserve to be.

It is a remarkable fact that human progress, even in regard to the worldly interests of the race, did not begin with those improvements which are most closely allied to material prosperity. One would have supposed, beforehand, that improvements would commence with the near rather than with the remote. Yet mankind had made great advances in astronomy, in geometry, and other mathematical sciences; in the writing of history, in oratory, and in poetry: it is supposed by many to have reached the highest point of yet attained perfection in painting and in sculpture, and in those kinds of architecture which may be called regal or religious, centuries before the great mechanical discoveries and inventions which now bless the world were brought to light. And the question has often forced itself upon reflecting minds, why there was this preposterousness, this inversion of what would appear to be the natural order of progress. Why was it, for instance, that men should have learned the courses of the stars, and the revolutions of the planets, before they found out how to make a good wagon-wheel? Why was it that they built the Parthenon and the Colosseum before they knew how to construct a comfortable, healthful dwelling-house? Why did they construct the Roman aqueducts before they constructed a saw-mill? Or why did they achieve the noblest models in eloquence, in poetry, and in the drama before they invented movable types? I think we have now arrived at a point where we can unriddle this enigma. *The labor of the world has been performed by ignorant men*, by classes doomed to ignorance from sire to son, by the bondmen and bond-women of the Jews, by the helots of Sparta, by the captives who passed under the Roman yoke, and by the villeins and serfs and slaves of more modern times. The masters—the aristocratic or patrician orders—not only disdained labor for themselves and their children, which was one fatal mistake, but they supposed that knowledge was of no use to a laborer, which was a mistake still more fatal. Hence ignorance, for almost six thousand years, has gone on plying its animal muscles, and dropping its bloody sweat, and never discovered any way, nor dreamed that there was any way, by which it might accomplish many times more work with many times less labor. And yet nothing is more true than that an ignorant man will toil

all his life long, moving to and fro within an inch of some great discovery, and will never see it. All the elements of a great discovery may fall into his hands or be thrust into his face; but his eyes will be too blind to behold it. If he is a slave, what motive has he to behold it? Its greater profitableness will not redound to his benefit; for another stands ready to seize all the gain. Its abridgment of labor will not conduce to his ease; for other toils await him. But the moment an intelligent man applies himself to labor, and labors for his own benefit or for that of his family, he begins to inquire whether the same task cannot be performed with a less expenditure of strength or a greater task with an equal expenditure. He makes his wits save his bones. He finds it to be easier to think than to work; nay, that it is easier both to think and work than to work without thinking. He foresees a prize as the reward of successful effort; and this stimulates his brain to deep contrivance, as well as his arms to rapid motion. Taking, for illustration, the result of an experiment which has been actually made, let us suppose this intelligent laborer to be employed in moving blocks of squared granite, each weighing 1,080 pounds. To move such a block along the floor of a roughly chiselled quarry requires a force equal to 758 pounds. An ignorant man, therefore, must employ and pay several assistants, or he can never move such a block an inch. But to draw the same block over a floor of planks will require a force of only 652 pounds. The expense of one assistant, therefore, might be dispensed with. Placed on a platform of wood, and drawn over the same floor, a draught of 606 pounds would be sufficient. By soaping the two surfaces of the wood, the requisite force would be reduced to 182 pounds. Placed on rollers three inches in diameter, a force equal to 34 pounds would be sufficient. Substituting a wooden for a stone floor, and the requisite force is 28 pounds. With the same rollers on a wooden platform, 22 pounds only would be required. And now, by the invention and use of locomotives and railroads, a traction or draught of between *three* and *four* pounds is found to be sufficient to move a body weighing 1,080 pounds. Thus the amount of force necessary to remove the body is reduced about two hundred times. Now take away from these steps the single element of intelligence, and each improvement would have been impossible. The ignorant man would never have discovered how nearly synonymous are freight and friction.

If a savage will learn how to swim, he can fasten a dozen

pounds' weight to his back, and transport it across a narrow river or other body of water of moderate width. If he will invent an axe, or other instrument, by which to cut down a tree, he can use the tree for a float, and one of its limbs for a paddle, and can thus transport many times the former weight many times the former distance. Hollowing out his log, he will increase what may be called its tonnage, or rather its *poundage*; and, by sharpening its ends, it will cleave the water both more easily and more swiftly. Fastening several trees together, he makes a raft, and thus increases the buoyant power of his embryo water-craft. Turning up the ends of small poles, or using knees of timber instead of straight pieces, and grooving them together, or filling up the interstices between them in some other way, so as to make them water-tight, he brings his rude raft literally into *ship-shape*. Improving upon hull below and rigging above, he makes a proud merchantman, to be wafted by the winds from continent to continent. But even this does not content the adventurous naval architect. He frames iron arms for his ship; and, for oars, affixes iron wheels, capable of swift revolution, and stronger than the strong sea. Into iron-walled cavities in her bosom he puts iron organs of massive structure and strength, and of cohesion insoluble by fire. Within these he kindles a small volcano; and then, like a sentient and rational existence, this wonderful creation of his hands cleaves oceans, breasts tides, defies tempests, and bears its living and jubilant freight around the globe. Now take away intelligence from the ship-builder, and the steamship—that miracle of human art—falls back into a floating log; the log itself is lost; and the savage swimmer, bearing his dozen pounds on his back, alone remains.

And so it is, not in one department only, but in the whole circle of human labors. The annihilation of the sun would no more certainly be followed by darkness than the extinction of human intelligence would plunge the race at once into the weakness and helplessness of barbarism. To have created such beings as we are, and to have placed them in this world without the light of the sun, would be no more cruel than for a government to suffer its laboring classes to grow up without knowledge.

In this fact, then, we find a solution of the problem that so long embarrassed inquirers. The reason why the mechanical and useful arts,—those arts which have done so much to civilize mankind, and which have given comforts and luxuries to the common laborer of the present day, such as kings and queens

could not demand three centuries ago,—the reason why these arts made no progress, and until recently, indeed, can hardly be said to have had anything more than a beginning, is that the labor of the world was performed by ignorant men. As soon as some degree of intelligence dawned upon the workman, then a corresponding degree of improvement in his work followed. At first, this intelligence was confined to a very small number, and therefore improvements were few; and they followed each other only after long intervals. They uniformly began in the nations and among the classes where there was most intelligence. The middle classes of England and the people of Holland and Scotland have done a hundred times more than all the Eastern hemisphere besides. What single improvement in art or discovery in science has ever originated in Spain or throughout the vast empire of the Russias? But just in proportion as intelligence—that is, education—has quickened and stimulated a greater and a greater number of minds, just in the same proportion have inventions and discoveries increased in their wonderfulness, and in the rapidity of their succession. The progression has been rather geometrical than arithmetical. By the laws of Nature, it must be so. If, among ten well-educated children, the chance is that at least one of them will originate some new and useful process in the arts, or will discover some new scientific principle, or some new application of one, then among a hundred such well-educated children there is a moral certainty that there will be more than ten such originators or discoverers of new utilities; for the action of the mind is like the action of fire. One billet of wood will hardly burn alone, though dry as suns and north-west winds can make it, and though placed in the range of a current of air; ten such billets will burn well together; but a hundred will create a heat fifty times as intense as ten, will make a current of air to fan their own flame, and consume even greenness itself.

For the creation of wealth, then,—for the existence of a wealthy people and a wealthy nation,—intelligence is the grand condition. The number of improvers will increase as the intellectual constituency, if I may so call it, increases. In former times, and in most parts of the world even at the present day, not one man in a million has ever had such a development of mind as made it possible for him to become a contributor to art or science. Let this development precede, and contributions, numberless, and of inestimable value, will be sure to follow. That political

economy, therefore, which busies itself about capital and labor, supply and demand, interest and rents, favorable and unfavorable balances of trade, but leaves out of account the element of a wide-spread mental development, is naught but stupendous folly. The greatest of all the arts in political economy is to change a consumer into a producer; and the next greatest is to increase the producer's producing power,—an end to be directly attained by increasing his intelligence. For mere delving, an ignorant man is but little better than a swine, whom he so much resembles in his appetites, and surpasses in his powers of mischief. . . .

I hold all past achievements of the human mind to be rather in the nature of prophecy than of fulfilment,—the first-fruits of the beneficence of God in endowing us with the faculties of perception, comparison, calculation, and causality, rather than the full harvest of their eventual development. For look at the magnificent creation into which we have been brought and at the adaptation of our faculties to understand, admire, and use it. All around us are works worthy of an infinite God; and we are led, by irresistible evidence, to believe that, just so far as we acquire his knowledge, we shall be endued with his power. From history and from consciousness, we find ourselves capable of ever-onward improvement; and therefore it seems to be a denial of first principles—it seems no better than impiety—to suppose that we shall ever become such finished scholars that the works of the All-wise will have no new problem for our solution, and will, therefore, be able to teach us no longer. Nor is it any less than impiety to suppose that we shall ever so completely enlist the powers of Nature in our service that exhausted Omnipotence can reward our industry with no further bounties. . . .

However far science and art may push their explorations, there will always be a frontier bounding their advances; there will always be a *terra incognita* beyond the regions they have surveyed,—beyond the utmost verge of the horizon which the eye can see from the topmast pinnacle of existing discoveries. Each new adventurer can gain new trophies by penetrating still deeper into the illimitable solitudes where alone Omnipotence dwells and works. The most perfect instrument which the brightest genius of any age may ever construct will be excelled by another instrument, made after a higher ideal of perfection by the brighter genius of a succeeding age. The most rapid processes of art known to any generation will be accelerated in the gen-

eration that shall follow it, and science will be found not only a plant of perennial growth, but in each succeeding age it will bear blossoms of a more celestial splendor, and fruits of beneficence unknown before. . . .

I know that it may be said, and said, too, not without a certain measure of truth, that when a more intelligent community has made a discovery in science, or devised or perfected the processes of any art, a less intelligent community by its side may adopt and copy them, and thus make the improvements their own by possession, though the invention belonged to another. After a bold navigator has opened a new channel of commerce, and while he is gathering the first-fruits of his sagacity, the stupid or the predatory may follow in his wake, and share the gains of his enterprise. Dr. Franklin may discover the uses of the lightning-rod; but when once discovered, and the manner of its use exhibited, any half-taught son of Vulcan can make and erect one by copying the given model. When a school-boy of New England has invented the cotton-gin, or perfected cotton machinery, the slaves of the South, stupid and ignorant as cattle, "according to the form of the statute in such cases made and provided," can operate them with a greater or less degree of success and profit. But there are two considerations which show how inferior the condition of the aping community must always be to that of the originating one.

In the first place, all copying is in the nature of empiricism. The copyist operates blindly, and not on principle; and therefore he is constantly exposed to failure. In untried emergencies, he never knows what to do, for the light of example shines only in one direction; while it is the very nature of principle, like its divine Author, to circumfuse its beams, and so to leave no darkness in any direction.

And, in the second place, even supposing the aping community to be able, after long delays and toils, to equal the originating one, still, before the period shall have elapsed which the pupil will require for studying out or copying the old lesson, his master will have studied out some new one, will have discovered some new improvement, diffusive of new utility and radiant with new beauty, so that the distance will be kept as great as ever between him and the learner.

The slave States of this Union may buy cotton machinery made by the intelligent mechanics of the free States, and they may train their slaves to work it with more or less skill; but

should they succeed ever so well, should they eventually become able to meet their entire home demand, it will nevertheless be true that, in the mean time, the new wants and refinements generated by the progress of the age will demand some new fabric, requiring for its manufacture either more ingeniously wrought machinery or greater skill in the operator, and thus will the more educated community forever keep ahead of the less educated one. The progress of mankind may be compared to an ascending spiral. In moving upward along this spiral, the less intelligent community will see the more intelligent one at a point above its head. It will labor on to overtake it, and, making another toilsome circuit, will at length reach the place where the victor had been seen; but, lo! the victor is not there: he, too, has made a circuit along the ascending curve, and is still far aloft, above the head of his pursuer.

Another common idea is this: it is supposed that intelligence in workmen is relatively less important in agricultural labors than in the mechanic and manufacturing arts. The great agricultural staples of the country—corn, cotton, sugar, rice, and so forth—have been stigmatized, or at least characterized, as “coarser” products, and, therefore, requiring less skill and science for their culture and improvement than the fabrics of the loom and the workshop. This may be true; but I am by no means convinced of its truth. It seems to me that there is as yet no adequate proof that skill and science, if applied to agriculture, will not yield practical benefits as copious and as wonderful as any that have rewarded the mechanician or the artisan in any department of their labors. Why vegetable growths, so exquisite in their organization, animated by the mysterious principle of life, and so susceptible of all the influences of climate, whether good or ill,—why these should be called “coarser” than iron ore or other unorganized metals, or any kind of wealth that is found in mines; or why cotton or flax, wool or leather, wood or grain, should be denominated “coarser” before they have been deprived of the principle of life than after it, and before they have lost the marvellous power of assimilating inorganic matter to their own peculiar substance,—it is not easy to perceive. May it not yet be found that a better knowledge of the laws that govern vegetable growth; a better knowledge of the properties and adaptations of different soils; a better knowledge of the conditions of fructification and germination, and of the mysterious chemistry that determines the quality of

texture, color, flavor, and perfume; a better knowledge of the uncombined gases, and of the effect of light, heat, electricity, and other imponderable agents, upon the size, rapidity, and variegation of vegetable growths,—in fine, a better knowledge of vegetable physiology, and of that, too, which may be called vegetable pathology,—will redeem the whole circle of agricultural occupations from the stigma of requiring less intelligent cultivators than are required for other pursuits, and thus supply a new and irresistible argument in favor of diffusing a vastly increased amount of knowledge among our free field-laborers and our rural population generally? The marvellous improvements which have been made under the auspices of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, in horticulture, floriculture, and pomology, already betoken such a result.*

Now it is in these various ways that all the means of human subsistence, comfort, improvement, or what, in one word, we call wealth, are created,—additional wealth, new wealth, not another man's earnings, not another nation's treasures or lands, tricked away by fraud or wrested by force, but substantially, and for all practical purposes, knowledge-created, mind-created wealth, as much so as though we had been endued with a miraculous power of turning a granite quarry into a city at a word, or a wilderness into cultivated fields, or of commanding harvests to ripen in a day. To see a community acquiring and redoubling its wealth in this way; enriching itself without impoverishing others, without despoiling others,—is it not a noble spectacle? And will not the community that gains its wealth in this way, ten times faster than any robber-nation ever did by plunder,—will not such a community be a model and a pattern for the nations, a type of excellence to be admired and followed by the world? Has Massachusetts no ambition to win the palm in so glorious a rivalry?

But suppose that Massachusetts, notwithstanding her deplorable inferiority in all natural resources as compared with other States, should be content to be their equal only in the means of education, and in the development of the intelligence of her present children and her future citizens, down, down to what a despicable depth of inferiority would she suddenly plunge!

* As an illustration of the value of knowledge in agricultural pursuits, it may be mentioned that the researches and discoveries by M. Meneville, in regard to the fly which was lately so destructive to the olive in the south of France, have increased the annual product of this fruit almost a million of dollars' worth. When would an ignorant man, or a slave, have made such a discovery?

Her ancient glory would become dim. No historian, no orator, no poet, would rise up among her children. Her sons would cease, as now, to fill chairs in the halls of learning in more than half the States of the Union. Her jurists would no longer expound the laws of Nature, of nations, and of States, to guide the judicial tribunals of the country. Her skilled artisans and master-mechanics would not be sought for, wherever, throughout the land, educated labor is wanted. Her ship-captains would be driven home from every ocean by more successful competitors. At home, a narrowing in the range of thought and action, a lowering of the tone of life and enterprise, a straitening in the means of living and of culture, a sinking in spirit and in all laudable and generous ambitions, the rearing of sons to obscurity and of daughters to vulgarity, would mark the incoming of a degenerate age,—an age too ignorant to know its own ignorance, too shameless to mourn its degradation, and too spiritless even to rise with recuperative energy from its guilty fall. But little less disastrous would it be to stop where we now are instead of pressing onward with invigorated strength to a further goal. What has been done is not the fulfilment or consummation of our work. It only affords better vantage-ground from which our successors can start anew in a nobler career of improvement. And, if there is any one thing for which the friends of humanity have reason to join in a universal song of thanksgiving to Heaven, it is that there is a large and an increasing body of people in Massachusetts who cannot be beguiled or persuaded into the belief that our common schools are what they may and should be, and who, with the sincerest good-will and warmest affections towards the higher institutions of learning, are yet resolved that the education of the people at large—of the sons and daughters of farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, operatives, and laborers of all kinds—shall be carried to a point of perfection indefinitely higher than it has yet reached.*

*In the letter of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, making a donation of fifty thousand dollars for the purpose of founding a scientific school at Cambridge (to which he has since added fifty thousand dollars more), the following expression occurs: "Elementary education appears to be well provided for in Massachusetts." And in the Memorial in behalf of the three colleges,—Harvard, Amherst, and Williams,—presented to the legislature in January, 1848, and signed by each of the three presidents of those institutions, it is said, "The provision [in Massachusetts] for elementary education . . . seems to be all that can be desired or that can be advantageously done by the legislature." The average salaries of female teachers throughout the State, at the time when these declarations were made, was only \$8.55 a month (exclusive of board), which, as the average length of the schools was only eight months, would give to this most faithful and meritorious class of persons but \$68.40 a year. The whole value of the apparatus in all the schools of the State was but \$23,826; and the whole number of volumes in their libraries was only 91,539, or an average of but twenty-five

Mr. Mann's services were so great in several different departments of his work that it would be difficult to say of any one of them, "In this he was greatest of all." But among his numerous educational writings we cannot hesitate to select his annual Reports as the most valuable and lasting. They were twelve in number, one for every year that he held the office. They were made nominally to the State Board of Education, but really to the people of Massachusetts and of the country at large. They were widely published in whole or in part, and still more widely read. Mr. George B. Emerson said of the great truths that the Reports contained: "They have already reached far beyond the limits of our narrow State. They are echoing in the woods of Maine and along the St. Lawrence and the Lakes. They are heard throughout New York and throughout all the West and the Southwest. A conviction of their importance has sent a Massachusetts man to take charge of the schools of New Orleans; they are at this moment regenerating those of Rhode Island. In the remotest corner of Ohio forty men, not children and women, but *men*, meet together to read aloud a single copy of the Secretary's Reports which one of them receives; thousands of the best friends of humanity of all sects, parties, and creeds in every State of the Union are familiar with the name of Horace Mann."

The general character of the Reports was determined by the law creating the Board of Education. They were devoted partly to reporting the existing state of things, including the progress that was made from year to year, but especially to the discussion of present and coming questions, with a view to creating public opinion and guiding public action. Since they were written, many hundreds of similar reports have been made, most of which are now found only in libraries and in lumber-rooms; but these have a perennial life. This is due especially to the great ability with which Mr. Mann treated his subjects, but partly to his fortunate position in the great column of common school reform. He dealt with the fundamental questions of this reform before they had lost any of the interest that grows out of novelty. He was a pioneer, and his work was the more interesting because a part of it consisted in creating interest. . . .

Mr. Mann says in his final Report that, when he first assumed the duties of the secretaryship, two courses lay open before him. One was to treat the school system of the State as though it were perfect;

volumes for each school. In accordance with the prayer of the Memorial, the Committee on Education reported a bill, making a grant of half a million of dollars to the colleges. The House of Representatives, after maturely considering the bill, changed the destination of the money from the colleges to the common schools, and then passed it. The donation of Mr. Lawrence will be highly beneficial to the few hundreds of students who will have the direct enjoyment of his munificence; and, through them, it will also benefit the State. So, too, would the contemplated grant to the colleges. Thus far, it is believed all liberal minds will agree. But what is needed is the universal prevalence of the further idea that there are two hundred thousand children in the State, each one of whom would be far more than proportionally benefited by the expenditure for their improved education of one-tenth part of sums so liberal.

to praise teachers for a skill they had no chance of acquiring and did not possess; to applaud towns for the munificence they had not shown; in a word, to lull with flattery a community that was already sleeping. The other course was to advocate an energetic and comprehensive system of education; to seek for improvements both at home and abroad; to expose justly but kindly the incompetence of teachers; to inform and stimulate school committees in respect to their duty; to call for money adequate to the work to be done. He said the one cause would for a time have been ignobly popular; the other was imminently perilous. Horace Mann saw all this, but he did not hesitate. Duty left him no option; the only way to end prosperously was to begin righteously. The story of his experience is disheartening in parts; but, taken together, it is a mighty stimulant to all teachers and school officers to do their duty. Moreover, teachers and school officers should not miss the spirit in which he did his work. "The education of the whole people in a republican government," said he, "can never be attained without the consent of the whole people. Compulsion, even if it were desirable, is not an available instrument. Enlightenment, not coercion, is our resource. The nature of education must be explained. The whole mass of mind must be instructed in regard to its comprehension and enduring interests. We cannot drive our people up a dark avenue, even though it be the right one; but we must hang the starry lights of knowledge about it, and show them not only the directness of its course to the goal of prosperity and honor, but the beauty of the way that leads to it."—*B. A. Hinsdale.*

Horace Mann's complete works are published, accompanied by a biography by his wife, in five volumes. His twelve annual reports to the Massachusetts State Board of Education, 1837-48, occupy nearly half of the space in these volumes. A brief outline of the twelve reports is given in a chapter especially devoted to them, by B. A. Hinsdale, in his admirable little book on "Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States"; also in Dr. William T. Harris's address at the Mann Centennial, printed in the Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1895-6 vol. i. Dr. Hinsdale properly pronounces the Twelfth Report, from which the extract printed in the present leaflet is taken, "in some respects the *magnum opus*." An extract from the Tenth Report, "The Ground of the Free School System," was printed in Old South Leaflet No. 109. See the notes to that leaflet. Read also Leaflet No. 135, James G. Carter's account of the schools of Massachusetts in 1824, to understand the condition of public education at that time, which it was the work of Horace Mann and his associates to reform.

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Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.

By MARY LYON.

The character of the young ladies, who shall become members of this Seminary the first year, will be of great importance to the prosperity of the Institution itself, and to the cause of female education. Those, who use their influence in making out the number, will sustain no unimportant responsibility. It is very desirable, that the friends of this cause should carefully consider the real design of founding this Institution, before they use their influence to induce any of their friends and acquaintances to avail themselves of its privileges.

This institution is to be founded by the combined liberality of an enlarged benevolence, which seeks the greatest good on an extensive scale. Some minds seem to be cast in that peculiar mould, that the heart can be drawn forth only by individual want. Others seem best fitted for promoting public good. None can value too much the angel of mercy, that can fly as on the wings of the wind to the individual cry for help as it comes over in tender and melting strains. But who does not venerate those great souls—great by nature—great by education—or great by grace—or by all combined, whose plans and works of mercy are like a broad river swallowing up a thousand little rivulets. How do we stand in awe, when we look down, as on a map, upon their broad and noble plans, destined to give untold blessings to the great community in which they dwell—to their nation—to the world. As we see them urging their way forward, intent on advancing as fast as possible, the renovation of the whole human family—and on hastening the accomplishment of the glorious

promises found on the page of inspiration, we are sometimes tempted to draw back their hand, and extend it forth in behalf of some traveller by the wayside, who seems to be overlooked. But we look again, and we behold the dearest personal interests of the traveller by the wayside, and those of a thousand other individuals included in their large and warm embrace.

This is the class of benevolent men who will aid in founding this Seminary; these the men who are now contributing of their time and money to carry forward this enterprise.

It is ever considered a principle of sacred justice in the management of funds, to regard the wishes of the donors. The great object of those, who are enlisting in this cause, and contributing to it, as to the sacred treasury of the Lord, cannot be misunderstood. It is to meet public and not private wants. They value not individual good less, but the public good more. They have not been prompted to engage in this momentous work by a desire to provide for the wants of a few of the daughters of our land for their own sakes as individuals, but by a desire to provide for the urgent necessities of our country, and of the world, by enlisting in the great work of benevolence, the talents of many of our daughters of fairest promise. This Institution is expected to draw forth the talents of such, to give them a new direction, and to enlist them permanently in the cause of benevolence. We consider it as no more than a due regard to justice, to desire and pray, that a kind Providence may send as scholars to this Seminary, those who shall go forth, and by their deeds, do honor to the Institution, and to the wisdom and benevolence of its founders. The love of justice will also lead us to desire and pray, that the same kind Providence may turn away the feet of those, who may in after life dishonor the Institution, or be simply harmless cumberers of the ground, though they should be our dearest friends, and those who for their own personal benefit, need its privileges more than almost any others.

The grand features of this Institution are to be an elevated standard of science, literature, and refinement, and a moderate standard of expense; all to be guided and modified by the spirit of the gospel. Here we trust will be found a delightful spot for those, 'whose heart has stirred them up' to use all their talents in the great work of serving their generation, and of advancing the Redeemer's kingdom.

In the same manner, we doubt not, that the atmosphere will be rendered uncongenial to those who are wrapped up in self,

preparing simply to please, and to be pleased, whose highest ambition is, to be qualified to amuse a friend in a vacant hour.

The age of the scholars will aid in giving to the Institution a choice selection of pupils. This Seminary is to be for adult young ladies; at an age when they are called upon by their parents to judge for themselves to a very great degree and when they can select a spot congenial to their taste. The great and ruling principle—an ardent desire to do the greatest possible good, will we hope, be the presiding spirit in many hearts, bringing together congenial souls. Like many institutions of charity, this does not hold out the prospect of providing for the personal relief of individual sufferers, nor for the direct instruction of the ignorant and degraded. But it does expect to collect, as in a focus, the sparks of benevolence, which are scattered in the hearts of many of our daughters, and after having multiplied them many fold and having kindled them to a flame, and given them a right direction, to send them out to warm and to cheer the world. Some of them may be the daughters of wealth, and the offering will be no less acceptable, because they have something besides themselves to offer to the great work. Others, may be the daughters of mere competency, having been fitted for the service by an answer to Agur's petition. Others, again may struggle under the pressure of more moderate means, being called to surmount the greatest obstacles by persevering effort, and the aid of friends. But provided they have kindred spirits on the great essential principles, all can go forward together without a discordant note.

It has been stated, that the literary standard of this Institution will be high. This is a very indefinite term. There is no acknowledged standard of female education, by which an institution can be measured. A long list of branches to be taught, can be no standard at all. For if so, a contemplated manual labor school to be established in one of the less improved of the western states, whose prospectus we chanced to notice some two or three years since, would stand higher than most of our New-England colleges. Whether the institution was ever established we know not, nor do we remember its name or exact location. But the list of branches to be taught as they appeared on paper, we do remember, as for the time, it served as a happy illustration of a general principle, relating to some of our attempts to advance the cause of education among us. In a seminary for

females, we cannot as in the standard of education for the other sex, refer to established institutions, whose course of study and standard of mental discipline are known to every literary man in the land. But it is believed, that our statement cannot be made more intelligible to the enlightened community, than by simply saying, that the course of study, and standard of mental culture will be the same as that of the Hartford Female Seminary—of the Ipswich Female Seminary—or of the Troy Female Seminary—or of some other institution that has stood as long, and ranked as high as these seminaries. Suffice it to say, that it is expected, that the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary will take the Ipswich Female Seminary for its literary standard. Of course there will be room for a continued advancement; as that institution has been raising its own standard from year to year. But at the commencement, the standard is to be as high as the present standard of that seminary. It is to adopt the same high standard of mental discipline—the same slow, thorough, and patient manner of study; the same systematic and extensive course of solid branches. Though this explanation will not be universally understood, yet it is believed that it will be understood by a great many in New England, and by many out of New England—by those, who have long been intimately acquainted with the character of that seminary, or who have witnessed its fruits in the lives of those whom it has sent forth to exert a power over society, which cannot be exerted by mere goodness, without intellectual strength. ‘By their fruits ye shall know them.’

The following is an extract from the last catalogue of the Ipswich Female Seminary.

COURSE OF STUDY, &c.

The regular course will consist of primary studies, and a two years' course in the regular classes, denominated Junior and Senior.

It is not expected that all who enter the school, will pursue the regular course. Those among the more advanced pupils, who design to continue members of the school no more than one year, may either pursue an outline of the branches here taught, or make it an object to gain a thorough knowledge of such studies as seem best suited to promote their individual improvement. In recitations, the regular classes are not kept

distinct; but all the pupils are arranged in temporary classes as may best promote the good of individuals.

PRIMARY STUDIES.

Mental Arithmetic,
Written Arithmetic,
English Grammar,
First Book of Euclid's Geometry,
Modern and Ancient Geography,
Government of the United States,
Modern and Ancient History,
Botany,
Watts on the Mind.

STUDIES OF THE JUNIOR CLASS

Written Arithmetic completed,
English Grammar continued,
The Second, Third, and Fourth Books of Euclid's Geometry,
Natural Philosophy,
Chemistry,
Astronomy,
Intellectual Philosophy,
Rhetoric.

STUDIES OF THE SENIOR CLASS.

Some of the preceding studies reviewed and continued,
Algebra,
Ecclesiastical History,
Natural Theology,
Philosophy of Natural History,
Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion to the Constitution and Laws of Nature,
Evidences of Christianity.

Reading, Composition, Calisthenics, Vocal Music, the Bible and several of the above branches of study, will receive attention through the course. Those who are deficient in spelling and writing, will have exercises in these branches whatever may be their other attainments. Linear drawing will also receive attention. It is desired, that so far as practicable, young ladies before entering the Seminary, should be skilful in both mental and written Arithmetic, and thoroughly acquainted with Geography and the History of the United States.

TEXT BOOKS.

The Bible, Worcester's Abridgement of Webster, or some other English Dictionary, the Eclectic Reader, by B. B. Edwards, Porter's Rhetorical Reader, Colburn's First Lessons, Adams's Arithmetic, Smith's and Murray's Grammar, Simson's or Playfair's Euclid, Woodbridge's Larger Geography, Sullivan's Political Class Book, Goodrich's United States, Worcester's Elements of History, with Goldsmith's England, Greece, and Rome, Mrs. Phelps's Botany, Olmstead's Natural Philosophy, Wilkins's Astronomy, Abercrombie on the Intellectual Powers, Newman's and Whately's Rhetoric, Baily's Algebra, Marsh's Ecclesiastical History, Paley's Natural Theology, Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History, Butler's Analogy, Alexander's Evidences of Christianity.

The time for admitting into the regular classes is near the close of the winter term. The pupils, who at that time have been members of the seminary a year, and in some cases only six months, on passing a thorough examination on the primary studies, or on such studies of the course as shall be equivalent to the primary studies, can be admitted into the Junior Class: and those who can pass a similar examination in such of the studies as shall equal all the primary studies, and those of the Junior Class, can be admitted into the Senior. Those who in addition are well acquainted with the studies of the Senior Class, receive at the close a testimonial of having completed with honor the course of study in this institution.

In order that this new institution may accomplish the greatest good to the cause of female education, it is desirable that the pupils should advance as far as possible in study before entering the Seminary. To many who are expecting to become members, it is a subject of deep regret that the commencement of operations should be delayed so long. To all, who are expecting to enter this seminary when it opens, it is earnestly recommended to spend as much of the intermediate time as possible in study. It is very desirable that the *least* improved of the pupils should have a thorough knowledge of arithmetic, geography, history of the United States and English grammar, though this may not be rigidly required of every individual the first year. These branches may be pursued privately without a regular teacher, or in the common district school, or in the young ladies' village school, or in any other situation, which may be convenient.

Those who wish to pursue these branches without a regular teacher to direct them, may derive advantage by pursuing something like the following order of study.

1. Colburn's First Lessons to the 11th Section;
2. A general course of Geography;
3. Adams' New Arithmetic to Fractions;
4. Rudiments and general principles of English Grammar;
5. Colburn's First Lessons completed;
6. Adams' Arithmetic to Proportion;
7. History of the United States;
8. Thorough course of Geography;
9. Thorough course of English Grammar.
10. Adams' Arithmetic completed.

MANNER OF STUDYING.

Colburn's First Lessons.

This book should be studied through so many times, and with such close attention, that all the difficult questions in every part of the book can be solved with great readiness, and the manner of solution described. In studying this, recitations are very important. In recitations the book should not be opened by the learner. If the questions cannot be remembered, and all parts comprehended, as they are received from the lips of a teacher, it may be safely inferred, not that there is any deficiency in the ability of the learner, but that more hard study is still requisite. If a young lady attempts to gain a thorough knowledge of this book by private study at home, it is important for her to recite daily to a brother, or sister, or some other friend. In recitations, whether of a class, or of an individual, every answer, and every description should be given with great clearness, accuracy, and promptness. The effects of a continued practice of reciting in this way, both on the mind, and degree of intelligence in the manner of an individual, can rarely be realized by those unaccustomed to observe them.

Adams's New Arithmetic.

(Some other book may be used as a substitute.)

In pursuing this branch of study, two things should be gained.

1. *Perfect Accuracy.* It should not be considered sufficient, that a question is finally solved correctly. No standard of accuracy is high enough, except that which will enable the learner

to avoid all wrong steps in the statement, and all errors in every part of the process to be corrected by a second trial. Where a deficiency is observed in these respects, more close and careful study should be applied—the preceding parts of the book should be slowly and carefully reviewed—and every question should be solved the first time very slowly, and with an undivided attention, till accurate habits are acquired.

2. *Readiness and Rapidity.* These habits can be gained only by abundant practice. Reciting, that is, solving questions given out by another, will be very useful. This study may be pursued without a regular teacher, but the learner should recite daily to some friend as recommended in Colburn's First Lessons. If any one is under the necessity of being her own teacher, of solving her own questions, and of overcoming her own difficulties, she will receive aid from observing the following rule. 'Whenever you are involved in difficulties, from which you know not how to extricate yourself, go back to the beginning, or nearly to the beginning of the book, and solve every question in course till you come to the point of difficulty.'

Most individuals will probably find it necessary to go through the whole book two or three times, in order to gain the needful accuracy and readiness.

ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

But few succeed in studying this except with a regular teacher. Though the manner of pursuing this branch is very important, it is not easy to give short and specific directions. We will only say, Be very thorough. Study every lesson closely and carefully.

GEOGRAPHY.

The manner of studying this branch must depend much on the teacher. One direction may be given for the use of those who study it without a teacher. After studying regularly through some book, and reviewing it carefully once or twice, let the learner select a complete outline, embracing prominent facts relating to every part of the world. This outline should be reviewed weekly or monthly for months, or for a year or two, till the facts are so indelibly fixed on the memory, that the lady at any future time of life, could recall anything in this outline almost as readily as

she could recollect the order of the letters of the alphabet. The learner is referred to a lecture delivered before the American Institute in 1833.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

In studying history, some systematic method is very important. But very little dependence can be placed on mere reading. Here and there a mind can be found, which will by a regular reading of history, select and arrange its materials so systematically, that they can be laid up for future use. But such minds among young ladies in the present state of female education are rarely found. History furnishes to the teacher an almost boundless field for the exercise of the inventive powers. But the most successful parts of almost every system of teaching history, cannot be so described as to be used by a young lady without a teacher. An intelligent young lady might use the 'Topic System' as it has been called to considerable advantage in the following manner. After gaining a general view of the book to be studied, let the young lady select a list of topics or subjects through the whole, to be learned and recited to some friend, like a connected narration. In learning these topics, it would not be well to charge the memory with every item which can be found, but with those which are the most important. In reciting, she should not attempt to state anything, of which she is not confident, but in what she does attempt to communicate, she should not allow herself the least indulgence for inaccuracy. She should charge herself with deficiency for the least inaccurate statement, even though she should correct it the next moment. The list of topics might with profit be recited through two or three times. If Goodrich's History of the United States is studied, Emerson's Questions may be used with advantage in connexion with the topics. Any one not accustomed to recite by the topic system, might use the Questions as a general guide in selecting items under each topic. Beginners have often found it useful in a few of the first lessons, to write out the items under each topic. But very soon, the mind will be able to collect and arrange its materials without consuming so much time. When topics are written, no use should be made of the notes during recitations.

If the whole of this course cannot be completed before entering the Seminary, let the first part be taken in order, and let what

is done, be done thoroughly. After completing the preceding course in the manner described, young ladies can select for themselves from the regular course of study pursued at Ipswich. It is desirable to advance in study as far as possible before entering the seminary, provided that every branch taken up receives thorough attention. A superficial passing over any branch before commencing it regularly in school, is always an injury instead of a benefit. But the greater the real capital, which any one possesses of improvement on entering the institution, the greater will be her proportionate income. Any who hope to be so far advanced as to enter the Senior Class at first, and complete the regular course of study in one year, may need some more specific directions and information relative to preparatory studies, to prevent disappointment. Such can obtain further information by directing a letter to Miss MARY LYON, South Hadley, Mass. A thorough knowledge of a definite number of branches, is a term, which to different individuals has very different meanings. Some of the members of the Ipswich Female Seminary, who had gone through the regular course, except the studies of the Senior Class, have been successful teachers in some of the most important female seminaries in our country. The same high standard will be taken in this institution. But notwithstanding this, a few individuals, who are now making their arrangements with reference to a hope, that they shall be its members the first year, can be prepared to complete the course, and others there doubtless will be, who could do it by devoting all the time that they can command, before the institution commences, to pursuing the most important studies, and to reviewing those which they have gone over.

This institution will do much, we hope, to raise among the female part of the community a higher standard of science and literature—of economy and of refinement—of benevolence and religion. To accomplish this great end, we hope by the influence of the institution on the community, to lead many to discover and use the means within their reach, instead of mourning in indolence after those they can never enjoy. We hope to redeem from waste a great amount of precious time—of noble intellect, and of moral power.

* * * This was written for the benefit of those, who are making inquiries about the qualifications for admission into this Seminary. It has been printed to save the labor of transcribing.

Those into whose hands it may fall, are requested to make no other use of it than they would of a written communication.

M. L.

South Hadley, Sept. 1835.

THE CHARACTER OF MARY LYON.

From the Address by Dr. Edward Hitchcock, President of Amherst College, at the first anniversary of Mount Holyoke Seminary after Miss Lyon's death.

“God gave her a vigorous and well-balanced physical constitution. Her stature was at a medium; the muscular powers were displayed in great strength and vigor; the vital apparatus was very strong, so as to give a full development to the whole system, and impart great tenacity of life. The brain was largely developed, and in proper proportion to produce a symmetrical character. The nervous system was full, yet free from that morbid condition which in so many produces irritation, dejection, or unhealthy buoyancy of the spirits, and irregular action of the mind. In short, all the essential corporeal powers were developed in harmonious proportion. You could not say that any of the marked temperaments were exhibited, but there was rather a blending of them all.

“Now just such a physical system seemed essential to the part in life for which this lady was destined. Many, indeed, have been distinguished as instructors of youth whose constitutions were frail, and whose shattered nerves thrilled and vibrated in every exigency. But Miss Lyon had another office besides teaching to execute, which demanded unshrinking nerves and great power of endurance. In building up a new seminary, not conformed in many respects to the prevailing opinions, she could not but meet many things most trying to persons of extreme sensibility, and needing an iron constitution to breast and overcome.

“And it gives a just view of the character of her mind to say that it corresponded to that of her body; that is, there was a full development of all the powers, with no undue predominance to any one of them. It were easy to find individuals more distinguished by particular characteristics, but not easy to find one where the powers were more harmoniously balanced, and where, as a whole, the mind would operate with more energy and effi-

ciency. She did, however, exhibit some mental characteristics, either original or acquired, more or less peculiar. It was, for example, the great features of a subject which her mind always seized upon first. And when she had got a clear conception of these, she took less interest in minute details; or, rather, her mind seemed better adapted to master fundamental principles than to trace out minute differences. Just as the conqueror of a country does not think it necessary, after he has mastered all its strongholds, to enter every habitation, to see if some private door is not barred against him, so she felt confident of victory when she had been able to grasp and understand the principles on which a subject rested. Her mind would work like a giant when tracing out the history of redemption with Edwards, or the analogies of nature to religion with Butler, or the great truths of Theism with Chalmers; but it would nod over the pages of the metaphysical quibbler, as if conscious that it had a higher destiny. And yet this did not result from an inability to descend to the details of a science when necessary.

“The inventive faculties were also very fully developed in our friend. It was not the creations of fancy merely, such as form the poet, but the power of finding means to accomplish important ends. Nor was it invention unbalanced by judgment, such as leads many to attempt schemes impracticable and quixotic. For rarely did she attempt anything in which she did not succeed; nor did she undertake it till her clear judgment told her that it would succeed. Then it mattered little who or what opposed. At first she hesitated, especially when any plan was under consideration that would not be generally approved; but when, upon careful examination, she saw clearly its practicability and importance, she nailed the colors to the mast, and, though the enemy’s fire might be terrific, she stood calmly at her post, and usually saw her opposers lower their flag. She possessed, in an eminent degree, that most striking of all the characteristics of a great mind; viz., perseverance under difficulties. When thoroughly convinced that she had truth on her side, she did not fear to stand alone and act alone, patiently waiting for the hour when others would see the subject as she did. This was firmness, not obstinacy; for no one was more open to conviction than she; but her conversion must result from stronger arguments, not from fear or the authority of names. Had she not possessed this feature of character, Mount Holyoke Seminary never would have existed, at least not on its present plan. But its triumphant success for

one-third of a generation is a striking illustration of the far-reaching sagacity and accurate judgment of its originator.

“Besides this seminary, the most striking example of the inventive powers of our friend is that only volume which she has left us,—I mean the ‘Missionary Offering,’—called forth by an exigency in a cause which she dearly loved, and whose most striking characteristic is its missionary spirit. Yet it is, in fact, a well-sustained allegory, demanding for its composition no mean powers of invention and imagination.

“Miss Lyon possessed, also, the power of concentrating the attention and enduring long-continued mental labor in an extraordinary degree. When once fairly engaged in any important subject, literary, scientific, theological, or economical, there seemed to be no irritated nerves or truant thoughts to intrude, nor could the external world break up her almost mesmeric abstraction.

“Another mental characteristic of our friend was her great power to control the minds of others. And it was done, too, without their suspecting it; nay, in opposition often to strong prejudice. Before you were aware, her well-woven net of argument was over you, and so soft were its silken meshes that you did not feel them. One reason was that you soon learnt that the fingers of love and knowledge had unitedly formed the web and woof of that net. You saw that she knew more than you did about the subject; that she had thrown her whole soul into it; that, in urging it upon you, she was actuated by benevolent motives, and was anxious for your good; and that it was hazardous for you to resist so much light and love. And thus it was that many a refractory pupil was subdued, and many an individual brought to aid a cause to which he was before indifferent or opposed.

“Finally, I must not omit to mention her great mental energy and invincible perseverance. That energy was a quiet power, but you saw that it had giant strength. It might fail of success to-day, but in that case it calmly waited till to-morrow. Nay, a score of failures seemed only to rouse the inventive faculty to devise new modes of operation; nor would the story of the ant that fell backward sixty-nine times in attempting to climb a wall, and succeeded only upon the seventieth trial, be an exaggerated representation of her perseverance. Had she lacked this energy and perseverance, she might have been distinguished in something else, but she never would have been the founder of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.

“Yet it is in her religious character, and there alone, that we shall find the secret and the powerful spring of all the efforts of her life which she would wish to have remembered. But I approach this part of her character with a kind of awe, as if I were on holy ground, and were attempting to lay open that which she would wish never revealed. In her ordinary intercourse, so full was she of suggestions and plans on the subject of education, and of her new seminary, that you would not suspect how deep and pure was the fountain of piety in her heart, nor that from thence the waters flowed in which all her plans and efforts were baptized and devoted to God. But as accidentally, for the last thirty years, the motives of her actions have been brought to light, I have been every year more deeply impressed with their Christian disinterestedness, and with the entireness of her consecration to God. Without a knowledge of this fact, a stranger would mistake for selfishness the earnestness and exclusiveness with which she often urged the interests of her seminary. But in the light of this knowledge, the apparent selfishness is transmuted into sacred Christian love. Her whole life, indeed, for many years past, has seemed to me to be only a bright example of missionary devotedness and missionary labor. I have never met with the individual who seemed to me more ready to sacrifice even life in a good cause than she was; and, had that sacrifice been necessary for securing the establishment of her favorite seminary, cheerfully, and without a moment's hesitation, do I believe, she would have laid down her life. I would, indeed, by no means represent her as an example of Christian perfection. I could not do so great injustice to her own convictions. But since her death, I have looked back over the whole of my long acquaintance with her in almost every variety of circumstance, to see if I could recollect an instance in which she spoke of any individual in such a way as to indicate feelings not perfectly Christian; or if I could discover any lurkings of inordinate worldly ambition, or traces of sinful pride, or envy, or undue excitement, or disposition to shrink from duty, or of unwillingness to make any sacrifices which God demanded; and I confess that the tablet of memory furnishes not a single example. What I considered errors of judgment I can indeed remember; but not any moral obliquity in feeling or action. They doubtless existed, but it needed nicer moral vision than I possess to discover them.”

“We are amazed when we look back at the amount and magnitude of her labors. Very few females have done so much for

the world while they lived, or have left so rich a legacy when they died. Nor is the fair picture marred by dark stains, save those of microscopic littleness. From the days of her childhood to the time of her death, all her physical, intellectual, and moral powers were concentrated upon some useful and noble object, while selfishness and self-gratification seem never to have stood at all in the way, or to have retarded the fervid wheels of benevolence. I cannot, therefore, believe that it is the partiality of personal friendship which leads me to place Miss Lyon among the most remarkable women of her generation. Her history, too, shows the guiding hand of special providence almost as strikingly as the miraculous history of Abraham, of Moses, of Elijah or of Paul. O, it tells us all how blessed it is to trust Providence implicitly when we are trying to do good, though the darkness be so thick around us that we cannot see forward one hand's breadth, and bid us advance with as confident a step as if all were light before us.

"This picture, too, is a complete one. Her life was neither too long nor too short. She died at the right time, with her armor on and yet bright. But her friends saw that, strong as her constitution naturally was, it was giving way under such severe and protracted labor, and the infirmities of declining years beginning to show themselves, even at the age of fifty-two. But with her Saviour, she could say, 'I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.' All her important plans had been carried into successful operation, and tested by long experiment; and the institution was in the right condition to be committed to other hands. . . . I cannot wish to call her back. But I do feel,—and many who hear me I doubt not feel it too,—I do feel a strong desire to be borne upward, on an angel's wing, to the Mount Zion where she now dwells, and to hear her describe in the glowing language of heaven, the wonders of Providence, as manifested in her own earthly course, as they now appear in the bright transparencies of heaven. Yet further, I long to hear her describe the still wider plans she is now devising and executing for the good of the universe and the glory of God; and how admirably her earthly discipline fitted her for a nobler field of labor above; so that those providences, which appear to us to have been consummated on earth, were, in fact, only a necessary means of adapting her to a work which shall fill and delight all her powers throughout eternal ages. Gladly, too, would I listen to her intensely earnest inquiries respecting her beloved seminary

and friends on earth; and learn whether, in some way unknown to us, she may not be still able to administer to their welfare."

Mary Lyon was born in Buckland, Franklin County, Mass., Feb. 28, 1797. Her ancestors were among the first settlers of the adjoining town of Ashfield. In the "Missionary Offering," a small book written by her in 1843, she draws a pleasing picture of the simple "mountain home" in which she grew up. Her educational opportunities were limited, but in the district school she made uncommon progress. One of her teachers said, "I should like to see what she would make if she could be sent to college." She began her career as a teacher near Shelburne Falls, Mass., receiving seventy-five cents a week with board. In 1817 she entered Sanderson Academy at Ashfield, maintaining herself there by the severest economy. At one time she resided for a season in the family of Dr. Hitchcock, then pastor of a church in Conway, afterwards president of Amherst College. We find her for one term in Amherst Academy; and it is interesting to note that afterwards, before locating her Seminary at South Hadley, Mount Pleasant in Amherst was one of the places she considered for it. In 1821, after teaching in various places, she went to attend Rev. Joseph Emerson's school at Byfield, Mass. The Adams Female Academy at Derry, N.H., where she afterwards taught, was conducted upon what she called the "Emersonian" plan; and Joseph Emerson's spirit and influence she cherished during her later teaching at Ipswich. The Ipswich Female Seminary was the germ of Mount Holyoke Seminary, which grew out of the earnest thought and indefatigable efforts of Miss Lyon in the half-dozen years before 1836, when the corner-stone was laid.

Miss Lyon's address to the friends of the school, setting forth her plans and program, published in the present leaflet through the courtesy of the president of Mount Holyoke College, has never before been printed save in the pamphlet form in which Miss Lyon circulated it in 1835. It is a document of distinct interest and value in the history of the higher education of American women. The noble character of Mount Holyoke Seminary and the peculiar service which it rendered from the time when Mary Lyon brought it into being are well known. Her grave is in the Mount Holyoke grounds, and upon the monument are the words from her last instruction to the school: "There is nothing in the universe that I fear but that I shall not know all my duty or shall fail to do it."

There is a life of Mary Lyon by President Hitchcock of Amherst College, published in 1851, two years after her death. A new edition of this revised by Mrs. Eunice (Caldwell) Cowles, was published in 1858. A later memoir by Miss Fiske contains many selections from Miss Lyon's addresses and class instructions. Miss Lyon is the subject of one of the chapters in Thayer's "Women who Win."

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A Congress of Nations.

BY ELIHU BURRITT.

ADDRESSES AT THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESSES AT
BRUSSELS (1848), PARIS (1849), AND FRANKFORT (1850).

I. ADDRESS AT BRUSSELS.

ON THE PROPRIETY OF CONVOKING A CONGRESS OF NATIONS,
THE OBJECT OF WHICH SHALL BE TO FORM AN INTERNA-
TIONAL CODE, IN ORDER, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE, TO SETTLE ON
A SATISFACTORY BASIS MOOT QUESTIONS, AND GENERALLY
TO SECURE PEACE.

The first great object which is sought to be obtained by a Congress of Nations is a *well-defined Code of International Law*. This has been acknowledged by eminent jurists, and proved by centuries of painful experience, to be a prime necessity in the community of nations. A forcible writer, in demonstrating this necessity, says, "Few persons are aware how unsettled and imperfect is the present law of nations. We have, in truth, no such law, and what passes under the name is of recent origin, and insufficient authority. This code, scarcely recognized at all by Greece or Rome, or little heeded or known in Christendom itself till after the Reformation, owes more to Grotius than to all other writers put together. He was its grand architect. He found it a chaos of clashing precedents and principles; but his learning, and his powers of analysis and combination, reduced its heterogeneous materials to a system which has won universal admiration, and

exerted a benign influence over the intercourse of all civilized nations. Still, neither Grotius nor his commentators have furnished a Code of International Law. They possessed not the requisite authority, and they have given us only a compilation of precedents, opinions, and arguments. It is the work, not of legislators, but of scholars; no law-making power was ever concerned in enacting any of its statutes; and all its authority has resulted from the deference spontaneously paid to the genius, erudition, and wisdom of its compilers. It is not law, but argument; not decrees, but rules; not a code, but a treatise; and the nations are at liberty, except from the force of custom and public opinion, to adopt or reject it as they please. A code of international law is still a desideratum: to supply this deficiency would be one of the first and highest duties of the tribunal which we propose."

In asking for the creation of this tribunal and fixed code of International law, we do not necessarily ask for any serious innovation upon the established usages and acknowledged principles of nations. We do not directly ask that what is now called unconstitutionally the law of nations, should be modified by a single material alteration. We do not propose to set aside the system of maxims, opinions, and precedents which Grotius and his successors or commentators have produced for the regulation of international society, or to weaken the homage which the world has accorded to that system. But if it is to continue to be the only recognized basis of international negotiation, treaties, intercourse, and society; if it is to be accepted, in the coming ages of civilization, as a universal common law among nations, then we do insist that it should not only retain the spontaneous and traditional homage accorded to it by the different governments of the civilized world, but that it shall also acquire the authority which the suffrage of nations can only give to it through the solemn forms of legislation. That legislation cannot be secured, in this constitutional age, without an International Legislature, or a *Congress of Nations*, in which each shall be equitably represented. The first great work of this International Assembly would be to revise and reconstruct the present code of International Law, and present it to the National Legislatures which they represent, for their adoption and ratification. Is there anything Utopian, visionary, or impracticable in the supposition that such a task might be satisfactorily performed by a body containing, we might assume, the aggregated wisdom of the world? Or,

in the language of a lucid writer, "If a single man, like Hugo Grotius, was able, in the early part of the seventeenth century, by his unaided talents, to create from the chaos of the past an almost perfect system of international jurisprudence, and by the mere force of his genius and learning to give to that system almost universal authority, have we not every reason to believe that a chosen body of wise and learned men, selected from among many nations, enlightened by all the experience of the past and by the lofty principles of the present age, and devoting their combined energies to the great work, would give to the result of their labors such perfectness of finish, such clearness of reasoning, such force of illustration, as would at once render the work of universal authority and obligation?"

But let us reduce our proposition to a present reality; and suppose that we have already carried all the preliminary stages of the measure, that we have poured a flood of light upon the public mind throughout the civilized world in regard to the guilt and ruin of War, that we have roused the millions of the people to pour their united voices upon the ear of Parliaments, National Assemblies, and Cabinets, until statesmen and legislators have been constrained to take up the work in earnest. Let us suppose that the basis of national representation has been fixed, and that it assigns a representative in the Congress of Nations to every million of inhabitants; if all the nations of Christendom accept this basis and elect their representatives, then we have an Assembly of about 350 members, or one about as large as the British House of Commons. But if only Great Britain, France, Germany, the Italian States, and the United States accept it at first, then we have an Assembly of about 160 members, embracing the most profound statesmen and jurists that these five nations can produce. They meet at Frankfort, or Brussels, or at some convenient point on the Continent of Europe, a few weeks before their own National Legislatures open their sessions for the year. The first work of this august Senate, after its proper organization, is the appointment of a Committee on International Law, composed of the most profound statesmen and jurists from the different countries. This Committee sit down to the examination of all that Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel, and others have produced on the subject. They apply to the work all the legal wisdom of the world; all that the light of the world's experience can reveal; all that the world's wants and future necessities can suggest. One by one they present to the Congress the

statutes of that common law which it is expected to provide for the nations. One by one these statutes are discussed, amended, and adopted, and then transmitted for discussion and adoption to the National Legislature in session at London, Paris, Frankfort, Rome, and Washington. The popular mind throughout Christendom is fixed with deep interest upon the proceedings of this International Senate; and the journals of all countries are filled with the reports of speeches made in that and in their own Legislative Assemblies, on the ratification of the different clauses of the new code of International Law. At the end of six months, perhaps, the last clause has been elaborated, and transmitted to London, Paris, Frankfort, Rome, and Washington; and we have a fixed well-digested code, created, sanctioned, and solemnized by all the moral prestige and authority that can be acquired from human legislation. No law ever enacted on earth can compare with this in the vital attributes of moral obligation. Into no law or record has there been so much suffrage of the public mind compressed as into this new code of nations. The Congress that elaborated and adopted it was a *constitutional* Congress. It was called into existence by the people; it was composed of the people's representatives. They send to it their greatest and best men—the most profound statesmen and jurists that their countries could produce. They sent them there for the express purpose of preparing this code; they empowered them with full authority to give it all the force that legislation can give to law. The august Senate assembled, and, under a solemn sense of the responsibility and magnitude of their mission, they performed their task. The most sublime Legislative Assembly that ever met on earth, they gave the result of their deliberations to their respective National Legislatures for examination, amendment, and ratification. Here, again, the people participated in the enactment of this code. Here, again, they affixed to the statutes the seal of their suffrage; and it was finished. It is the common law of the people; it bears the superscription of their sovereignty; it is the *chef-d'œuvre* of constitutional legislation; the sublimest manifestation of the public mind that can be achieved by the representative principle. It is the law of nations in every popular, legislative, and moral sense; and in each of these senses it is the particular and popular law of each of the nations that participated in its enactment. Then have we not every reason to believe that the constituent people would not permit any of its statutes to be violated without their energetic reprobation?

But let us return to our Congress of Nations. The code which they produced as the result of long and serious deliberations has been accepted by all the nations represented in the Assembly. It has received its last seal of authority. The illustrious Senate now enters upon the second department of its labors, and provides for the erection of a Grand International Tribunal, or permanent High Court of Nations, which shall decide all serious questions of controversy between the nations represented, according to the code thus adopted. After mature deliberation, they provide for the appointment, for life or otherwise, of two jurists from each nation, to compose the Bench of Judges forming this High Court of Arbitration, Honor, and Equity. If it is deemed necessary that this tribunal shall immediately replace the Congress that created it, then the latter, we will suppose, continues its sessions, until the Judges are appointed by the different National Legislatures entitled to a representation in the Court. Having accomplished the two great objects for which it was called into existence, it is instructed to apply its deliberations to minor matters of International interests, until the Judges shall arrive to open the High Court. For instance, they digest a plan for establishing a universal and permanent uniformity of weights and measures throughout the civilized world, which would be a great boon to mankind. In effecting this object, the Congress will do what individual nations have frequently essayed to achieve without success. Many other obstructions to International trade and intercourse may occupy its attention while waiting for the High Court to open its tribunal.

The opening of this High Court of Nations, with the imposing solemnities befitting the occasion, must open a new era in the condition and prospects of mankind. A seat for life, or for any period on this bench of judges, is the highest appointment within the capacity of any nation. It is a post of duty, honor, trust, and dignity, which has no parallel in the presidency of a republic, or in the office of ambassador to any foreign court. Still, it cannot be the place for the ambitious politician, the factious diplomatist, or reckless demagogue; consequently, we may believe that two profound statesmen, or jurists, have been appointed by each nation, to represent it in this grand tribunal. Filling the sublimest position to which the suffrage of mankind could raise them, we may presume that they would act under a proper sense of the dignity and responsibility of their vocation. Constituting the highest Court of Appeal this side of the bar of Eternal

Justice, they would endeavor, we might hope, to assimilate their decisions, as nearly as possible, to those of unerring Wisdom. Sinking the great disconnected circles of human society into the chain of universal order, they would watch with jealous eye all that could disturb the harmony of nations, the links of which that chain is composed. Such a body, in several senses, would be to the great orbit of humanity what the sun is in the solar system; if not in the quality of light, at least in that of attraction. A presentiment of union would pervade the nations, and prepare them for a new condition of society. Wherever a question arose between two of them, the thought of War would not occur to either. The note of martial preparations would not be heard along their coasts. The press would not breathe thoughts among the people, calculated to stimulate sentiments and presentiments of hostilities. Each party would say to its government, "There is the law; there is the Court; there sit the Judges! refer the case to their arbitrament, and we will abide by their decision." Instead of the earth being shaken with the thunder of conflicting armies and deluged with blood, to settle a question of right or honor, we should see reported, among other decisions of this Supreme Court of Nations, the case of England *versus* France, Prussia *versus* Denmark, or Mexico *versus* the United States. Thus all these occasions of War, under the old régime of brute force, might be settled as legitimately and satisfactorily as any law-case between two sovereign states of the American Union. The Supreme Court of the United States is frequently occupied with a lawsuit between two states; and a case, entitled New York *versus* Virginia, or Ohio *versus* Pennsylvania, will often be found on the list of cases presented for trial. A resort to arms never occurs to the inhabitants of either of the litigant states, however grave may be the difference between them. The first result, then, of the erection of this High Court of Nations would be the expulsion of the idea of War from the popular mind of Christendom; and all preparations for War would disappear in like manner.

All the Continental Governments are now undergoing the process of renovation or reconstruction upon a popular basis. New political affinities have already been created between nations. Freedom of the press, right of public meeting, of association, and other great popular prerogatives have been acquired. The community of nations is slowly approximating to the condition of the family circle. Now is the time to organize these social

tendencies and national affinities into a fixed system of society. Everything favors the proposition. The great obstructions that would have opposed it a year ago have been removed. Nations are gravitating into union; not giving up any essential qualities of independence or individuality, but confederating with each other under the attraction of mutual affinities. Then why may we not link these large circles of humanity into one grand system of Society, by creating for it a common centre and source of attraction in the establishment of a HIGH COURT OF NATIONS?

II. ADDRESS AT PARIS.

A CONGRESS OF NATIONS.

To-day are fulfilled the aspirations of that man of courageous faith and extended philanthropy, William Penn. More than 200 years have elapsed since he penned his parting words of peace to a distant posterity. Assembled from both sides of the Atlantic, speaking different languages, and living under different governments, we are here to honor with our remembrance that early friend of peace and humanity. The project which he elaborated we now bring back almost in its original integrity. It has been subjected to the changing opinions and conditions of society. Able writers in different countries have made it the theme of learned dissertations; yet it has not incurred any fundamental change. The friends of peace in America have concentrated their efforts upon its development and adoption. More than fifty essays have been written upon it; and hundreds of public meetings have been held for the purpose of interesting the public mind in its favor. Petitions, numerously signed, have been addressed to the legislative assemblies of different states, asking them to induce the federal government at Washington to propose to the other governments of the civilized world the convocation of a Congress of Nations, for the purpose of establishing a well-defined code of international law, and a high court of adjudication, to interpret and apply it, in the settlement of all international disputes, which cannot be satisfactorily arranged by negotiation. A similar form of proposition emanated from this metropolis more than two centuries ago. Its author had no works on international law to consult. Neither Grotius, nor Puffendorf, nor Vattel had published anything on the subject. The great tribunal which he proposed was a perpetual court of equity, composed

of a representative from every recognized kingdom or government in the world. The only material difference between the original and the present form of the project is not a change, but an addition. The friends of peace in America, who, perhaps, have devoted more attention to this particular measure than their brethren on this side of the Atlantic, have believed it indispensable for the order and peace of nations that there should not only be established a court of equity or arbitration, but also a well-defined authoritative code of international law, which should govern the decisions of that tribunal, in settling the disputes referred to it. And, indeed, they have deemed the establishment of such a code as the first and most important step to be taken in organizing permanent and universal peace. In this conviction they are sustained by the testimony of profound writers, and by evidence derived from the painful experience of nations, still suffering from the murderous wars and animosities of the past. "The law of nations," says Vattel, "is as much above the civil law in its importance as the proceedings of nations and sovereigns surpass in their consequences those of private persons." How plain, how explicit, then, ought the law of nations to be! How guarded at every point! How fixed and acknowledged its principles! And yet, strange to say, this law, all-important as it is, has never been put into the form of a code, and many of its principles remain matters of dispute, and have been the frequent occasion of war. To adopt the language of an able writer on this subject, "We have no such law, and what passes under that name is the unauthorized work of irresponsible individuals, at different periods, who frequently disagree among themselves. Neither Grotius nor his commentators have furnished an international code. They possessed not the requisite authority; and they have given us only a compilation of precedents, opinions, and arguments. It is the work, not of legislators, but of scholars; no law-making power was ever concerned in enacting any of its statutes; and all its authority has resulted from the deference spontaneously paid to the genius, condition, and wisdom of its compilers. It is not law, but argument; not decrees, but rules; not a code, but a treatise: and the nations are at liberty, except from the force of custom and public opinion, to adopt and reject it, as they please." The first work prescribed for a Congress of Nations would be to revise and reconstruct the present code of international law, as it has been called, and then to present it for the ratification to the different national assemblies repre-

sented in the Congress. To effect an object of this vast importance, we might assume that each nation would send to the Congress its most profound statesmen, or juris-consuls, so that all the legal wisdom and experience of the age would be brought to bear upon its deliberations. The basis of representation and the mode by which the different national delegates should be elected are matters of detail, which, it has been thought, might be referred to a more advanced stage of the project. But, merely to supply the proposition with all its requisite elements, let us suppose that one delegate should be apportioned to every million of the population of a country. If all the nations of the civilized world should come into this arrangement, then we should have an assembly of about 300 members, of whom, perhaps, thirty-six would represent France, thirty Great Britain, thirty Germany, twenty the United States. If this basis were adopted, such a representation would be sufficiently popular, if appointed by the legislatures of the different constitutional governments. Even if a few absolute monarchies should send delegates to the Congress, their votes and voices would not modify the popular character and constitution of the assembly. For such a Congress would represent the principle of universal suffrage applied to nations, in the same manner as it is applied to individuals under a republican or constitutional form of government. The votes that Prussia might be entitled to give would be subject to the rigid condition of the democratic principle. They would be of no more avail upon the decision of a question than the same number of votes cast by the United States or the smallest republic. Therefore, a people possessing universal or limited suffrage could have nothing to fear even from the association of one or two despotic powers in such an assembly, for they would inevitably constitute a small minority in it, and be unable to modify its conclusions. Besides, the task prescribed to the Congress would be so specific, and the materials so natural and abundant, that there would be little danger of the introduction and discussion of extraneous topics. They would not be obliged to launch into a new and unexplored field of speculations. Their first great work would be merely to revise a system of principles, precedents, practices and opinions, which had already acquired the name, and even a part of the authority, of an international code. All that Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel, and other men of great erudition have produced, would be in their hands. The experience of past ages, the present and future necessities of international

society, would be available to guide their deliberations. Nor would this be all. Every step they took would be directed by the wisdom of the nations which they represented. For instance, the Congress might be in session at the same time as the different national assemblies by which it had been constituted, in order that its proceedings might be ratified step by step. Let us suppose, then, that it should meet at some convenient town in Switzerland, or in some other central territory, which should be considered neutral ground, or free from any local influence which might affect its conclusions. They would immediately proceed to revise and adopt the international code, clause by clause. And clause by clause it might be transmitted to the national legislatures in session at Paris, London, Frankfort, Washington, and other capitals. At the end of six months, perhaps, the last paragraph has been elaborated and adopted by the Congress, and ratified by all the national assemblies represented in it. We have now a well-digested code, created, sanctioned, and solemnized by all the moral *prestige* and authority that can be acquired from human legislation. The august senate which constructed it was composed of delegates chosen by the representatives of the peoples. The most sublime legislative assembly that ever met on earth, they gave the result of the deliberations to their respective national assemblies for revision, amendment, and adoption. Here, again, the people took part in the enactment of this code. Here, again, they affixed to its statutes the seal of their suffrage, and it became the common law of nations, invested with all the moral authority that human legislation can give to law. On arriving at this result, we have taken the first great step in organizing peace in the society of nations. We have established a basis upon which their intercourse may be regulated by clearly defined and solemnly recognized principles of justice and equity. The next step, and of equal importance, is to constitute a permanent international tribunal, which shall interpret and apply this code in the adjudication of questions submitted to its decision. The illustrious assembly, therefore, enters upon the second department of its labors, and projects a plan for the establishment of this High Court of Nations. And this plan is adopted, also, in the same manner as the code itself. Let us suppose that it prescribes the appointment of two judges, for life or otherwise, by the government or legislature of each nation represented in the Congress. This number is suggested by the constitution of the Senate of the United States, which is composed of two delegates,

lected by the legislature of every state, great or small. If it is deemed necessary that this tribunal shall immediately replace the Congress, then the latter, we will suppose, continues its sessions until the judges are appointed. Having accomplished the two great objects for which it was convoked, it is instructed to apply its attention to matters of minor international interest, until the judges arrive, to open the High Court. For instance, they digest a plan for establishing throughout the civilized world a uniformity of weights, measures, moneys, rates of postage, and for creating other facilities for the social and commercial intercourse of nations, thus preparing them for that relation to each other which should exist between the members of a vast and peaceful commonwealth. We now reach the grand consummation of our system. The High Court of Nations is opened with all the imposing solemnities befitting the occasion. Each nation, we may believe, has selected two of its most profound and eminent men to fill the seats allotted to it in this grand tribunal. Occupying the sublimest position to which the suffrage of mankind could raise them, they will act, we may presume, under a proper sense of the dignity and responsibility of their high vocation. Constituting the highest court of appeal this side of the bar of Eternal Justice, they will endeavour to assimilate their decisions, as nearly as possible, to those of unerring wisdom. Here, then, we complete the chain of universal law and order. Here we organize a system which is to connect the great circles of humanity, and regulate the mutual deportment of nations by the same principles of justice and equity as govern the intercourse of the smallest communities of men. We establish an order of society by which great nations, without deposing a single prerogative of their legitimate sovereignty, accept the condition of individuals who are amenable to law. For our system, if adopted, would not trench upon the complete independence of the different states. Neither the Congress nor the High Court of Nations would pretend to exercise any jurisdiction over the internal affairs of a country, or exert any direct political influence upon its institutions. Neither would they be designed to confederate the different states of the civilized world in a political union, like the United States of America. The great international tribunal which we propose would not be like the Supreme Court of the United States, to which not only the thirty little republics, but every inhabitant of the Union, may appeal for its decision in any case which cannot be settled by inferior authorities. The

different nations would still retain all the prerogatives of their mutual independence. Even if differences arose between them, they would endeavor to settle them as before, by negotiation. But, if that medium failed to effect an honorable and satisfactory adjustment, they would then refer the matter in dispute to the arbitration of this High Court, which, in concert with other nations, they had constituted for that purpose. The existence of such a last court of appeal would inevitably facilitate the arrangement of these questions by negotiation, which is now often embarrassed and thwarted by its dangerous proximity to an appeal to arms. Whenever a difficulty arose between two countries, the last resort, after negotiation had failed, would not suggest to the mind of either party the terrible trial of the battlefield, but the calm, impartial, and peaceful adjudication of the High Tribunal of the Peoples. And, when once the idea of war has been displaced in the minds of nations by the idea of a quiet administration of justice and equity, preparations for war, and all the policies which it requires and creates, will gradually disappear from international society. The different nations would soon accustom themselves to refer their cases to this High Court of Appeal with as much confidence as the different states of the American Union now submit their controversies to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. On the list of cases brought before that court may be found sometimes one entitled "New York *v.* Virginia," or "Pennsylvania *v.* Ohio"; and, however heavily the verdict may bear upon one of the parties, scarcely a murmur is heard against it. In like manner we might see reported, among other decisions of this international tribunal, the case of "France *v.* England," "Denmark *v.* Prussia," or "Mexico *v.* the United States."

The brief space within which this exposition must be compressed will permit but a slight notice of the objections which are frequently opposed to the system under consideration. Among the most prominent of these objections, it is declared that the different governments and peoples are not yet prepared for such a condition of society as we would establish; that in their present disposition they would not be willing to submit their differences to such a tribunal; that there would be no military power to enforce obedience to its authority; and that all the nations of the civilized world could not be induced to come into this arrangement. Group all these objections together, we would merely reply to them, *en masse*, that we are not compelled to rest the

practicability of our project upon the present state or disposition of the different governments and peoples. The edifice of international society which we would erect must be the work of years of unremitting labor. Stone by stone would we build this temple of universal peace, and when the last is fitted to its place, and all is prepared for opening its portals for the fraternization of the peoples, they will be ready to give each other the hand, and form a holy alliance, to banish war and all its suite of animosities and miseries from the community. The means which we propose to employ will tend to prepare the popular mind throughout the civilized world to espouse with delight that condition of international fraternity which our system would organize. We will allude to but one class of these means, and that is a series of congresses like the one which is now convened in this hall and in this metropolis of civilization. What do we need to enable us to organize permanent peace by instituting a High Court of Nations? We need, in the first place, the sympathy and support of the popular mind. In the next place, we need the adhesion of governments, and their adoption of a system which public opinion has universally demanded. Well, for twenty years the friends of peace on both sides of the Atlantic had disseminated their principles through their respective communities. In 1843 they held a Congress in London, at which there were present about twenty-five delegates from the United States, and several from France and other continental countries. Here they deliberated upon the best measures for establishing universal peace. Several members of Parliament took part in the proceedings of this Congress, and gave to its object their complete approbation and support. This demonstration proved that the legislative as well as the popular mind of different countries had become interested in the organization of universal peace: the members of that Congress returned to their respective communities, inspired with new zeal and activity, and instituted more extensive operations for disseminating their principles. After laboring five years, with encouraging success, they resolved to hold another Congress, not only to give a new impetus to the cause, but to ascertain the force of public opinion which had been acquired in its favor. They believed that the popular mind in England and the United States was in an advanced state of preparation, and they desired, as it were, to feel the pulse of the rest of the people of Europe in reference to the cause, and to elicit their sympathy and co-operation. Consequently, last year they vent-

ured to raise their standard for the first time upon the continent of Europe. Although the contemporaneous circumstances of the epoch were inauspicious, the success which attended their pacific demonstration surpassed all their anticipations. There were present about 150 delegates from England and the United States, and an equal number from Belgium and other continental countries. The Belgian Government accorded every facility and courtesy which the hospitality of a generous nation could inspire, and many of its eminent men took part in the Congress and assisted at its organization. The president, the Hon. Auguste Vischers, a gentleman high in the estimation of the government and people of Belgium, was supported on one side by a member of the French National Assembly, as vice-president for France, and on the other by a member of the British Parliament, as vice-president for England. Several other members of different national assemblies were present, and took part in the deliberations of the Congress. The proceedings were conducted in the most excellent spirit, and its conclusions were clear and unanimous. The Anglo-American delegates were surprised and delighted to find that there were so many on the continent ready to unite with them in their enterprise. The Congress was a proof to them that the popular mind everywhere was fast preparing for the fraternization of the peoples under a system of organized peace. Nor was this all. The presence and co-operation of members of different national assemblies proved also that they might rely upon the adhesion of the legislative mind of Europe, just in proportion as they acquired the suffrage of enlightened public opinion. Encouraged by these new indications of progress, the Anglo-American delegates returned from the Congress, and commenced a series of operations on a larger scale than they had ever attempted before. In England there were 150 public meetings held in different parts of the country, and 1,000 petitions were presented to Parliament in favor of international arbitration,—one of the measures proposed at the Brussels Congress.

This proposition was brought before the House of Commons on the 12th of June by Mr. Richard Cobden, and he and other able statesmen pleaded for its adoption with irresistible arguments. The discussion lasted for six hours, and was conducted with excellent spirit, the two parties appearing to understand that they were in the presence of a sacred principle, worthy of the veneration of the human race. Eighty-one members voted with Mr. Cobden for the proposition, and these were the repre-

representatives of the largest electoral districts in the kingdom. Besides other manifestations of popular sympathy, there were 200,000 persons in England who, during the last six years, have, in their petitions, entreated the British Government to adopt a measure adapted to banish war forever from the family of nations. There have been more persons in England who have this year petitioned Parliament for universal peace than for all the other necessities of the nation put together. Does not this fact indicate that the popular mind in England is preparing to support any practical measure for the abolition of war? And were not the eighty votes in Parliament, of members representing the largest electoral districts in the kingdom, a proof that the legislative mind of Great Britain is in an advanced state of preparation to adopt such a measure? But is not the presence of this great and solemn assembly an evidence more illustrious still that the great peoples of the civilized world, and their legislators too, are even ready now to co-operate in establishing peace as a fundamental and permanent system of society? Here are 500 men, representing all the considerable towns of Great Britain, from Land's End to John O'Groat's, who have left their homes and crossed the Channel to assist at this great demonstration. What does their presence testify, if not to the complete preparation of the popular mind in England to support any measure which shall expel the enormous suicide of war forever from the society of nations? And is not the presence of the illustrious Richard Cobden and his colleagues of the British Parliament a proof that the legislative mind of England will follow, if not lead, the will of that people in the path of peace? And here, too, are men from different parts of the United States, who have left their homes and crossed the ocean, to testify by their presence that America is ready and willing to fraternize with the peoples of the Old World in the organization of universal peace. And one of these delegates is a member of the Congress of the United States, who travelled 2,000 miles before he could reach a port at which he could embark for Europe. And what may we say for France? Here we meet her distinguished legislators, jurists, writers, her conductors of the press and teachers of religion. May we not believe that she is ready to accept the Anglo-American hand which is proffered to her this day, and to associate herself with the great peoples which that hand unites in establishing perpetual peace in the family of nations? Comparing this demonstration with the two which have preceded it, is it too much to

believe that we are advancing by a ratio of geometrical progression toward the Congress of Nations which we propose? In the Peace Congress of 1843 there were about 150 delegates, including two or three members of the British Parliament. In this assembly, the third in our series, we have more than 600 delegates, including twenty or thirty members of different national assemblies. If this demonstration should set on foot more extensive operations for disseminating the ideas of peace during the next twelve months, may we not believe that in our next Congress we shall have 1,000 delegates, including 100 of the most enlightened statesmen, representing all the national assemblies of the civilized world? If it should be concluded to hold the next Congress at Frankfort in 1850 or 1851, the friends of peace in America would undertake to send a delegation of 100, including twenty-five or thirty members of the Congress of the United States. Thus, in four or five years, these periodical demonstrations would draw into the movement the most liberal statesmen in every country, who would urge upon their respective governments the adoption of the system under consideration. In the mean time we should have prepared the different peoples to espouse that system, and to sustain it with that enlightened public opinion which, according to the authority of Lord Palmerston, is stronger than armies.

III. ADDRESS AT FRANKFORT.

Resolution: "That this Congress recommends all the friends of Peace to prepare public opinion, in their respective countries, for the convocation of a Congress of the Representatives of the various States, with a view to the formation of a Code of International Law."

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I deeply regret that the task has devolved upon me to present to this assembly a proposition which has been denominated *American*, from the attention which the friends of peace in the United States have given to its development and advocacy during the last twenty years,—I refer to the convocation and establishment of a Congress and High Court of Nations for the regulation of the intercourse and for the adjustment of the difficulties which may arise between them, according to the principles of justice embodied in a well-defined code of international law. I had hoped that some one of my countrymen would have been prepared to bring to the discussion of this

question a force of argument and clearness of illustration befitting a subject of such grave importance. But, as no member of the American delegation is thus prepared to develop the proposition, I beg leave merely to state, as succinctly as I can, the principal points and considerations which it involves. In the first place, then, permit me to say that the measure proposed is not *American*, either in origin or argument. It had taken shape and form in the public mind before America was discovered as a world or born as a nation. It is as old as the idea of international law; and, with that idea, it has come down to us from the earliest times, expanding as it descended, through Egyptians and Persians, through Greeks and Romans, through the chaos of the dark ages, through confederacies and councils, leagues and diets of later periods, down to the congresses and conferences of the last century. In 1622, before a single English colony was established in North America, and nearly one hundred years before the Abbé de St. Pierre had written a word upon the subject, a French author, in a work entitled "*Le Nouveau Cygne*," elaborated the proposition which is submitted to your consideration to a fulness of development far surpassing the limits which the present advocates of the measure would prescribe to its operations. He proposed the convocation and establishment of a great International Senate, composed of a representative from every recognized kingdom or government in the world, a body which should not only serve as a perpetual court of equity and arbitration, but also as a standing convention or congress, to project and propose great international works of improvement,—such as the connection of rivers, seas, and oceans by ship canals and enterprises of a similar character. About a century and a half after the publication of this work, a higher authority and more distinguished name than that of the anonymous writer to whom I have referred invested the proposition with all the dignity that profound legal erudition and experience could confer upon it. The name of Emanuel Kant is identified with it, and it would be an act of injustice to the memory of that remarkable man to ascribe to the American mind a plan which he had presented to the world with such clearness and force before it was ever mentioned on the other side of the Atlantic. He says: "What we mean to propose is a General Congress of Nations, of which both the meeting and duration are to depend entirely upon the sovereign wills of the League, and not an indissoluble union, like that which exists between the several states in North America,

founded upon a political covenant. Such a Congress and such a League are the only means of realizing the idea of a true public law, according to which the differences between nations would be determined by civil proceedings, as those between individuals are determined by civil judicature, instead of resorting to war, a means of redress worthy only of barbarians." Other distinguished authorities might be cited to prove that the proposition is not an American idea. To France and Germany belongs the joint honor of its paternity; to France and Germany belongs the joint duty of expanding it to the full stature and perfection of a world-embracing reality. Here is a sublime work for the united energies of their mighty mind. Whatever we have done in America in reference to this question, we have done as their disciples. For twenty years we have wrought upon their idea, and endeavored to induce our government to propose its adoption to all the other governments of the civilized world. Large public meetings have been held from year to year for its consideration. More than fifty essays have been written to demonstrate its necessity and practicability. The legislatures of several of our states have addressed memorials in its favor to the General Congress and Government at Washington. The resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1844 embrace the propositions almost exactly as defined by Emanuel Kant in 1794. This is its language: "That it is our earnest desire that the Government of the United States would take measures for obtaining the consent of the powers of Christendom to the establishment of a General Congress of Nations for the purpose of settling the principles of international law, and of establishing a High Court of Nations, to adjudge all cases of difficulty which may be brought before them." This scheme proposes, to use the term of that distinguished writer, "to realize the idea of a true public law" by the only process by which such an important object could be attained: first, by defining and settling the principles of international law; and then by establishing a High Court of Nations, which should interpret and apply those principles to the adjudication of such questions as should be submitted to its arbitration. Here, then, are two great and distinct steps to be taken, to organize the society of nations upon a basis of fixed law and order. The resolution before us limits our deliberations to the first of these steps; and to that I will confine my remarks, feeling assured that the one must inevitably follow the other in quick succession. The sole object of a Congress of

Nations, according to the language of the resolution, is to provide the world with a well-defined, authoritative code of international law. This has been acknowledged by eminent jurists, and proved by centuries of painful experience, to be the great want of the commonwealth of nations. A forcible writer, in demonstrating this necessity, remarks:—

“Few persons are aware how unsettled and imperfect is the present law of nations. Neither Grotius nor his commentators have furnished a code of international law. They possessed not the requisite authority, and they have given us only a compilation of precedents, opinions, and arguments. It is the work, not of legislators, but of scholars; no law-making power was ever concerned in enacting any of its statutes; and all its authority has resulted from the deference spontaneously paid to the genius and erudition of its compilers. It is not law, but argument; not decrees, but rules; not a code, but a treatise; and the nations are at liberty, except from the force of custom and public opinion, to adopt or reject it as they please.”

We do not propose to set aside the system of maxims, opinions, and precedents which Grotius and his commentators produced for the regulation of international society, or to weaken the homage which the world has accorded to that system. But if it is to continue to be the only recognized basis of international negotiations, treaties, intercourse, and society, if it is to be accepted, in the coming ages of enlightened civilization as a universal common law among nations, then we do insist that it shall not only retain the spontaneous and traditionary homage accorded to it by the civilized world, but that it shall also acquire the authority which the suffrage of nations can only give to it through the solemn forms of legislation. That legislation cannot be secured, in this age of constitutions, without an international legislature, or a congress of nations, in which each shall be equitably represented. The only work assigned to this international assembly would be to revise and reconstruct the present code of international law, and then to present it to the national legislatures which they represented, for their adoption and ratification. Now is there anything Utopian, visionary, or impracticable in the supposition that this task might be satisfactorily performed by a body of men representing, we might assume, all the legal wisdom of the world? Or, in other words, if a single man like Hugo Grotius was able, in the seventeenth century, by his unaided talents to create from the chaos of the past an almost perfect

system of international jurisprudence, and, by the sheer force of his genius and learning, to give to that system almost universal authority, have we not every reason to believe that a chosen body of wise and learned men, selected from many nations, enlightened by the experience of the past and by the principles of the present age, and devoting their united energies to the great work, would give to it such a perfection of finish, such force of reasoning, and such clearness of illustration, as would at once render it of universal authority and obligation? But let us reduce the proposition to a practical reality. Let us suppose that we have carried all the preliminary stages of the measure; that we have poured a flood of light upon the public mind throughout the world in regard to the guilt and ruin of war; that we have roused the millions of the people to pour their united voices upon the ears of parliaments, national assemblies, and cabinets, until statesmen and legislators have been constrained to take up the work in earnest. Let us suppose, even, that the basis of representation has been settled and adopted, and that the Congress of Nations has assembled at Brussels, Frankfort, or some proper locality, a few weeks before the national legislatures they represent open their sessions for the year. Perhaps the first proceeding of the International Assembly, after its proper organization, is the appointment of a select committee on international law, composed of the most distinguished statesmen and jurists from the different countries. This committee sit down to an elaborate examination of all that Grotius, Vattel, Puffendorf, and others have produced on the subject. They apply to the work all the legal wisdom of the world, all that the light of the world's experience can reveal, all that the world's wants and future necessities can suggest. One by one they present to the Congress the statutes of that common law which it is expected to provide for the nations. One by one these statutes are discussed, amended, and adopted, and then transmitted for discussion, revision, and adoption to the several national legislatures in session at London, Paris, Frankfort, Washington, and other capitals of legislation. The popular mind throughout Christendom is fixed upon the proceedings of this International Senate with deep interest; and the journals of different countries are filled with reports of the speeches in that and in their own national assemblies, on the ratification of the different statutes of the new code. At the end of six months, perhaps, the last clause has been elaborated and adopted by the Congress, and ratified by

all the national legislatures represented in it. We now have a well-digested code, created, sanctioned, and solemnized by all the moral force and prestige that can be acquired from human legislation. No law on earth can surpass this in the vital attributes of moral obligation. Into no law on record has there been compressed so much suffrage of the public mind as into this new code of nations. The congress that elaborated it was a constitutional congress. It was called into existence by the people; it was composed of the people's representatives, at least in the second degree of election. They sent to it their greatest and best men, the most profound statesmen and jurists their countries could produce. They sent them there expressly for the purpose of preparing this code. They empowered them with full authority to give to it all the moral force that legislation can give to law. The august senate met, and under a solemn sense of the responsibility of their mission they performed their task. Constituting the most sublime legislative assembly that ever met on earth, they gave the result of their deliberations to their several national legislatures for revision and ratification. Here again the people participated in the enactment of this code. Here again they affixed to its statutes the seal of their suffrage, and it was complete. It is the common law of the peoples. It bears the superscription of their sovereignty. It is the masterpiece of constitutional legislation, the grandest manifestation of the public mind ever produced by the representative principle. It is the law of the nations in every popular, legislative, and moral sense; and in each of these senses it is the law of every nation that participated in its enactment. Then have we not reason to believe that the peoples would not permit any violation of its statutes without visiting the act with their energetic reprobation? But the resolution before us seems to invite rather timidly the friends of peace in different countries to prepare the public mind for the adoption of such a code, and for the condition which it involves. It seems to intimate that this preparation is a work yet to be commenced, or, at least, in the incipient stage of progress. Now all the signs of the times that I can distinguish indicate that this preparation is already far advanced. The morning light of the good time coming is everywhere breaking upon the eyes of those who are looking and longing for its appearing. Everywhere new hearts and new hopes are gained to our cause. Everywhere new agencies and tendencies are combining to propel it forward. The great necessities and interests of the age unite

to make peace the first want and predilection of the nations. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men are coming to be recognized by civilization and science, as well as by Christianity. This great central principle of Divine revelation is taking effect upon the peoples of the world. The bristling barriers of nationality, which once divided and estranged them, are gradually disappearing, and they are beginning to fraternize across the boundaries that once made them enemies. The great transactions of nations, the mightiest works of human skill and energy, are becoming *international* in origin, operation, and ownership. Is it a canal that is proposed? It is a great channel for the ships of all nations across the isthmus of Panama, to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and to shorten the passage to India by 6,000 miles. Is it a railway that is projected? It is one 4,000 miles in length, across the continent of North America, to open to all the nations of Europe a north-west passage to China of 30 days from London. Is it an electric telegraph? It is one to reach round the globe, crossing Behring's Straits and the English Channel, and stringing on its nerve of wire all the capitals of the civilized world between London and Washington. Is it a grand display of the works of art and industry, for the encouragement and development of mechanical skill and genius? It is a magnificent exhibition opened, without the slightest distinction, to the artists and artisans of all nations, just as if they belonged to one and the same nation, and were equally entitled to its patronage and support. Is it an act affecting navigation? It is to place all the ships that plough the ocean upon the same footing as if owned by one and the same nation. Is it a proposition to cheapen and extend the facilities of correspondence between individuals and communities? It is to give the world an ocean penny postage, to make home everywhere, and all nations neighbors. These are the material manifestations of that idea of universal brotherhood which is now permeating the popular mind in different countries, and preparing them for that condition promised to mankind in Divine revelation. They are the mechanical efforts of civilization to demonstrate that sublime truth,—“God hath made of one blood all nations of men.”

The Peace Congress of 1849, in Paris, was the most remarkable assembly that had ever taken place on the continent of Europe, not only for its objects, but for its personal composition. The English delegation numbered about seven hundred, and were conveyed across the Channel by two steamers specially chartered for the purpose. They not only represented but headed nearly all the benevolent societies and movements in Great Britain. Indeed, Richard Cobden told M. de Tocqueville that if the two steamers sank with them in the Channel, all the philanthropic enterprises of the United Kingdom would be stopped for a year. There were a goodly number of delegates from the United States, including Hon. Amasa Walker of Massachusetts, Hon. Charles Durkee of Wisconsin, President Mahan of Oberlin College, President Allen of Bowdoin College, and other men of ability. Nearly all the European countries were represented by men full of sympathy with the movement. Victor Hugo was chosen president, and, supported on each side by vice-presidents of different nations, arose and opened the proceedings with probably the most eloquent and brilliant speech he ever uttered on any occasion. Emile de Girardin, Abbé Deguerry, Curé de la Madeleine, the Coquerels, father and son, spoke with remarkable power and effect, as representing the French members; Richard Cobden, Rev. John Burnet, Henry Vincent and other English delegates delivered speeches of the happiest inspiration; Amasa Walker, President Mahan, Charles Durkee and others well represented and expressed American views and sentiments; and delegates from Belgium, Holland and Germany spoke with great earnestness and ability. The Congress was continued for three days, and the interest in its proceedings constantly increased up to the last moment. The closing speech of Victor Hugo was eloquent and beautiful beyond description. Emile de Girardin said of it, that it did not terminate, but *eternized* the congress. The next day the government gave the great entertainment at Versailles, which was varied by a very pleasant incident. The English members gave the American delegates a public breakfast in the celebrated Tennis Hall, or Salle de Paumes, at Versailles, so connected with the great French Revolution. Richard Cobden presided, and testified to the appreciation, on the part of the English members, of the zeal for the cause of peace shown by their American brethren in crossing the ocean to attend the congress. A French Testament, with a few words of pleasant remembrance signed by himself as chairman of the meeting, was presented to each of them.—*From Burrill's Autobiography.*

Elihu Burrill was born in New Britain, Conn., in 1810. He had slight early educational privileges; but, taking up the occupation of a blacksmith, by unremitting toil at night and during brief respites, often with open book at the forge itself, he acquired such large and varied knowledge, especially of languages, as earned him the title of "The Learned Blacksmith." Before he was thirty, he made himself more or less acquainted, he tells us in his autobiography, "with all the languages of Europe and several of Asia, including Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, Samaritan, and Ethiopic." For several years after 1837 he made his home at Worcester, Mass., where he continued his work at the forge and at his books, helped especially by his access to the large and rare library of the Antiquarian Society. His remarkable attainments came to the knowledge of Edward Everett, then governor of Massachusetts, and a conspicuous reference to him by Gov. Everett in one of his speeches gave him sudden fame. He was offered the privileges of Harvard University, but declined. He started a little monthly magazine, *The Literary Geminae*, half of it French selections and the other half articles and translations from his own pen; but this lived but a year. He was invited to the lecture platform, and quickly became a popular lecturer upon many subjects of education and reform.

In 1841 a slight accident shaped the course which led to his labors in Europe and his whole subsequent devotion to the cause of peace and international fraternity. He sat down to write a scientific lecture on the Anatomy of the Earth, showing the analogies between the earth and the human body in the mutual dependence of the various parts. His studies deeply impressed him by the fact that the arrangement of nature was designed to bind nation to nation, by the difference and necessity of each other's productions; and the lecture turned out "a real, radical peace lecture." It was first given at the Tremont Theatre in Boston, where Tremont Temple now stands. He had never read a page of Worcester or Ladd on the subject of peace; but many of the peace people were present, and Burrill was instantly recognized as a strong accession to the ranks. He now started a weekly paper in Worcester called *The Christian Citizen*, devoted largely to Anti-slavery and Peace, and also set on foot "The Olive Leaf Mission,"—printed slips sent to hundreds of newspapers, containing articles on peace subjects. He came into close relations with English friends of peace, and in 1846 went to England, where, assisted chiefly by Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, he founded "The League of Universal Brotherhood," which quickly had a membership of several thousands in England and America. He began the agitation for Ocean Penny Postage, which after some years was crowned with success,—one of his greatest achievements.

In 1843 the first International Peace Congress had been held at London, growing out of

a suggestion by Joseph Sturge in Boston two years before. Burritt revived the idea; and largely through his efforts the great Peace Congresses of Brussels, Paris, Frankfurt, and London (1848-51) took place. He addressed hundreds of meetings in their behalf. At Paris there were 700 delegates from England, led by men like Richard Cobden, Henry Riehard, and Joseph Sturge, and 23 from the United States. At London the American delegation numbered 60. At all these congresses Burritt and his American associates pressed the idea of a permanent international tribunal; and this idea, finally realized at the Hague, was generally spoken of in Europe as "the American plan." William Jay and William Ladd in America had strongly presented the plans which Burritt urged with such force at the European congresses. Burritt's speeches at the Congresses of Brussels, Paris, and Frankfurt, are all given in the present leaflet. In outline they closely resemble each other, and entire paragraphs are frequently identical; but each address contains much that is distinct and fresh, and their historic importance makes the comparison valuable. The address at Paris was the most important. Of the great Paris Congress itself we have two brief accounts from Burritt, one in his autobiography, the other in his journal (extract given by Northend). There was an attendance of 2,000. Victor Hugo presided, and in his eloquent introductory speech exclaimed: "A day will come when a cannon-ball will be exhibited in public museums, just as an instrument of torture is now, and people will be amazed that such a thing could ever have been. A day will come when these two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, will be seen placed in the presence of each other, extending the hand of fellowship across the ocean,—exchanging their produce, their commerce, their industries, their arts, their genius,—clearing the earth, peopling the desert, improving creation under the eye of the Creator, and uniting, for the good of all, these two irresistible and infinite powers, the fraternity of men and the power of God."

Burritt pushed his "Olive Leaf Mission" extensively in England, Germany, France, and other countries, at one time working through forty different journals from Stockholm to Madrid. During the years preceding the war he was chiefly at home, working for "Compensated Emancipation." In 1863 he returned to England, travelled on foot all over the island from John O'Groat's to Land's End, and put his travels into popular volumes. In 1865 he was appointed American consul at Birmingham. Returning to America in 1870, he lived at his old home in New Britain, Conn., engaged in manifold good works and universally beloved, until his death in 1879. At the time of the Washington Treaty for the settlement of the "Alabama" difficulty he spoke at thirty meetings in behalf of international arbitration. A monument to his memory is to be erected at New Britain the present year (1904).

There is a biography of Elihu Burritt by Charles Northend, published just after Burritt's death; but a completer work is much to be desired. Northend's biography has long been out of print. The volume contains selections from Burritt's writings and extracts from his journals. His journals cover almost his whole active life, occupying many volumes, and of great interest. They are now preserved in the New Britain Institute. Nowhere else can such full particulars be found of the great International Peace Congresses of 1848-51. Mr. Northend in his appendix gives a list of Burritt's books and the various periodicals which he edited. His "Year Book of Nations," a little volume of international statistics, precursor of many similar, more ambitious works by others, was published in 1851. In his "Ten-minute Talks," which opens with a valuable brief autobiography, is a section devoted to international subjects; and his volume on "Thoughts and Things at Home and Abroad" contains chapters on such subjects as "Dismantled Arsenals," "Natural Provisions for Peace," "War and the Spirit of Christianity," "The Inhumanity of War," "The Courage and Conquests of Peace," "The Pioneers of Peace," "The Power of Passive Resistance," "The Policeman and the Soldier," "The Grand Congress of Nations." A new and uniform edition of his more valuable writings is a monument to Burritt as much to be desired as the new memorial of bronze or stone.

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Autobiography of Peter Cooper.

My father after the Revolutionary war had done a successful business in the manufacture of hats in the city of New York, and, when I was about three years old [he was born in the city of New York, Feb. 12, 1791] he, like many others, became enamoured with a country life, and bought a place at Peekskill, built a store there, carried on the business of a country store-keeper, and built a church. He found plenty of custom all over the country that would buy on credit, and it was not more than two or three years before he found that nearly all of his property was in the hands of other people, and that it was impossible for him to collect it. He believed devoutly that I should come to something; for he named me Peter, after the great Apostle, and maintained that he was told to do so in a sort of "waking vision." My mother was an excellent woman, and did the best she could with a large family, narrow circumstances, and a changing home.

My father followed the business of a hatter, and the first I remember was being utilized in this business by being set to pull the hair out of rabbit skins, when my head was just above the table. I remained in this business until I could make every part of a hat. My father finally sold out his hatter's business to my eldest brother, by a former wife, and commenced the brewing of ale in the town of Peekskill. It was my business to deliver the kegs of ale to the different places in town and country where it had been sold. Finding this a "slow business," my father bought a place at Catskill, where he commenced again the hatter's business, and also that of making bricks. I was made useful in this business in carrying and handling the bricks for the drying process.

My father, at length finding that his business at Catskill did

not answer his expectations, sold out and removed to Brooklyn, N.Y. Here I worked again at the hatter's business with my father until again he sold out and bought some property in Newburg, N.Y., on which he erected a brewery. At this business I continued with my father until I was seventeen.

The only time I ever trusted to chance for any profit was about this time, when I got a very wholesome lesson. I had earned about ten dollars beyond my immediate wants, which I invested, by the advice of a relative, in lottery tickets, all which, fortunately for me, drew blanks. This impressed upon me the folly of looking to games of chance for any source of gain or livelihood.

In my seventeenth year I entered as apprentice to the coach-making business. I remained in this four years, till I was of age, and had thoroughly learned the business. During my apprenticeship I received twenty-five dollars a year for my services. To this sum I added something by working at night at coach carving, and such other work as I could get. My grandmother gave me the use of a room, in one of her rear buildings on Broadway, where I spent much of my time in nightly work, instead of going with other apprentices who too often went with loose companions and contracted habits that proved their ruin. During my apprenticeship I made for my employer a machine for mortising the hubs of carriages, which proved very profitable to him, and was perhaps the first of its kind used in this country. When I was twenty-one years old, my employer offered to build me a shop and set me up in business; but, as I always had a horror of being burdened with debt, and having no capital of my own, I declined his kind offer.

As soon as I was of age, I went to the town of Hempstead, L.I., to see my brother. Here I was persuaded to work for a man at the making of machines for shearing cloth. I continued at this for three years, for a dollar and fifty cents a day, which was regarded as very large wages at that time. I saved enough at the end of my engagement to buy the right of the State of New York for a machine for shearing cloth, and I commenced the manufacture of these machines on my own account. This business proved very successful. The first money I received for the sale of my machines was from Mr. Vassar, of Poughkeepsie, who afterwards founded that noble institution for female education, called the Vassar College, at Poughkeepsie. My sales to Mr. Vassar also included one of the patent rights for the county in which he

resided. This put in my possession so large an amount of money according to my ideas at that time, about five hundred dollars, that I was very much elated and rejoiced at what I considered my great good fortune. But my joy was soon turned to mourning. On my return from Poughkeepsie I visited my father, who lived then at Newburg. I found the family in the deepest affliction on account of the pressure of debts which my father was unable to pay. The money I had just received from my machines enabled me to pay the most pressing of these debts, and left me barely the means to purchase materials to commence the making of new machines. Besides this, I became surety for my father for debts not yet matured, which I paid as they fell due, and in consequence of this my father never had the mortification of failing in business. The same is true in my own affairs, notwithstanding some public statements made to the contrary by persons ignorant of the facts.

So far from ever having failed in business, I do not remember the week or month when every man who has ever worked for me did not get his pay when it was due. This is strictly true, through a business life of more than sixty years, in which I have had at times as many as twenty-five hundred people in my employment. The coach-making business I never followed after serving out my apprenticeship. But, soon after I commenced the manufacture of machines for shearing cloth, I made an improvement that enabled me to sell these machines as fast as I could make them. At this time they were in great demand, in consequence of the war of 1812 with England, which stopped our commerce with that country. At the close of the war, however, this business lost its value, and I gave it up.

It is worth while to mention here that the principle and method of my machine for shearing cloth was precisely the one now used so largely in mowing and reaping machines; and this was so obvious that a gentleman, seeing my machine at work, suggested that a similar machine might be made for mowing grass, and asked me to make for him a model for this purpose. This was operated for the purpose of cutting the grass in his yard, and proved entirely successful, long before any machine for mowing had been invented or patented by others.

After some three years' continuance in this business of manufacture, I bought a twenty years' lease of two houses and six lots of ground where the "Bible House" now stands, opposite the Cooper Union. On this ground I erected four wooden dwelling-

houses. I was engaged at this time in the grocery business, in which I continued for three years. Soon after this I purchased a glue factory, with all its stock and buildings, on a lease of twenty-one years, for three acres of ground, on what was then known as the "old middle road," between Thirty-first and Thirty-fourth Streets. Here I continued to manufacture glue, oil, whitening, prepared chalk, and isinglass to the end of my lease. I then bought ten acres of ground on Maspeth Avenue, Brooklyn, where the business has continued to the present time. What I made by building machines and in the grocery business had enabled me to pay for the glue factory on the day of the purchase.

I very early took to making and contriving for myself or friends. I remember one of the earliest things I undertook, of my own accord, was to make a pair of shoes. For this purpose I first obtained an old pair, and took them all apart to see the structure; and then, procuring leather, thread, needles, and some suitable tools, without further instruction, I made the last and a pair of shoes, which compared very well with the country shoes then in vogue.

When I was an apprentice at the coach-making business, I planned out and made at night a model machine to show how power could be obtained from the natural current of the tide, and be applied to various useful purposes. My model represented a plan for causing the water-wheel to rise and fall with the tide, at any desired speed, by the action of its own machinery. It was so arranged that the whole power could be thrown on a saw-mill or be made to force compressed air into a reservoir, to be used as a motive power to propel ferry-boats across the river. This was to be done by making the hull of a ferry-boat to consist of two strong iron cylinders, to form the buoyancy of the boat, and a reservoir of power to drive a boat across the river. On these cylinders I placed, at a sufficient distance apart to receive the water or driving-wheel, either between the cylinders or on the outside, as might be thought most convenient, the deck to rest on and be fastened to these cylinders or reservoirs for power. The power was to be received from a reservoir of compressed air on the dock, by connecting the hull of the boat with the reservoir by means of a flexible tube, when in the dock, at every trip,—the air to be worked off by its expansion and pressure, similar to the working of a steam-engine. The wreck of the old tide-mill is still in the garret of my house. I remember that Fulton did me the honor to come and see my model and machinery, but he was

too much occupied at that time with his own plans of steamboat navigation to pay much attention to my invention.

I had read from the books, or heard said, that there was no loss of power communicated through a crank, except from friction. I doubted this. There are two "dead points" in the crank motion, which nothing but the inertia of a fly-wheel or something equivalent can overcome. I made an experiment to show that the rectilinear motion of a piston-rod could produce the rotary motion of an axle with less loss of power than through a crank. By special contrivance I made my piston-rod a part of the circuit of an endless chain, which went around the circumference of a driving-wheel, and communicated power without any crank. It would be difficult to describe this machine without drawings, but the result was that I proved to the satisfaction of the City Engineer, against his former convictions, that there was a loss of power in the use of the crank, and I gained, with my application of the reciprocal and rectilinear motion of the piston-rod, a power which was as five to eight over the crank. I made a small engine on this principle, and used it in the "first locomotive," on the Ohio & Baltimore Railroad, making a trial trip with the President alone. But, before I came to try it with the train of cars, it was so unskilfully handled by some meddlesome person that it broke twice, and I was obliged, at last, in that experiment, to put a cross-head and crank on the engine. I have the remains of that first model of the engine in my garret yet.

A year before the water was let into the Erie canal, it occurred to me that canal-boats might be propelled by the force of water drawn from a higher level, and made to move a series of endless chains along the course of the canal. So I began to make experiments. I built a flat-bottomed scow, took a couple of men, and choosing that part of the East River that lies between what is now the foot of Eighth Street and where Bellevue Hospital now stands, —a distance of one mile,—I drove posts into the mud, one hundred feet apart. On these posts I fastened rollers made of block tin and zinc, on which my endless chain could run. There were two rollers on each post, one above the other, so that the chain could run up on one roller and back on the other. Then I made two miles of chain. This chain is of four-horse power. I tested it. I then arranged a water-wheel to run the chain. This preparation took a deal of time, for I did most of the work myself. When it was completed, I took a small skiff, fastened my tow line to the chain, started my wheel, and found that the experiment was

a success. I invited Governor Clinton and a few other gentlemen to make a trip. We ran the two miles, up and back, in eleven minutes. The governor was so well pleased that he paid me eight hundred dollars for the privilege of purchasing the patent right for the use of the canal. It was never used on the canal, and for this reason Governor Clinton had great difficulty in getting the farmers on the line of the canal to give him the right of way, and in order to induce them to grant it had held out to them the great advantages that would arise to them of selling their oats, corn, hay, and other produce to the canal men for the use of the horses. If the endless chain was used, these promises would be good for nothing, as there would be no horses to feed. So Governor Clinton gave up my scheme. I ran the chain on the river for ten days, during which time hundreds of people made the trip. At the end of that time I took the chain off the river. Well, the matter stood still until a few years ago Mr. Welch, the president of the Camden and Amboy Canal Company, hit upon the endless chain plan for getting his boats through the locks. He tried it, and it worked well. So he went to Washington to take out a patent, and found on searching the records that I had taken out a patent on the very same invention, fifty years before. Of course my patent had run out, so the invention was free to all.

It is about twelve years since I made an endless band of round iron, near three-eighths of an inch in diameter, extending in the form of a belt for about three miles, for the purpose of transporting coal from the mines to my furnaces. This belt of iron was supported on wheels fastened to posts, the wheels having grooved surfaces to support the belt. On this belt I fastened buckets formed to receive iron ore. These buckets, when filled with ore, were on a descending grade sufficient to carry the ore down and return the empty buckets. During the time I owned the Canton property, I made a belt of cars which I placed on a double track railroad. One track was held right over the other in a frame for the purpose. The belt of cars was placed on a double track railroad in this framework, and was intended to transport by its own weight a sand-bank into Harris Creek bottom, which I desired then to fill up. The framework, with its rails and belt of cars, was placed on longitudinal sleepers, so as to be moved up to the side of the bank, as the sand was being removed. The sand could be carelessly thrown into a long hopper, over the cars, on the upper track. The cars, after dumping their load at the lower end, returned on the lower track, bottom upwards, to be constantly refilled.

In early life, when I was first married, I found it necessary to "rock the cradle," while my wife prepared our frugal meals. This was not always convenient, in my busy life, and I conceived the idea of making a cradle that would be made to rock by a mechanism. I did so, and, enlarging upon my first idea, I arranged the mechanism for keeping off the flies and playing a music-box for the amusement of the baby. This cradle was bought of me afterwards by a delighted peddler, who gave me his "whole stock in trade" for the exchange and the privilege of selling the patent in the State of Connecticut.

[Mr. Cooper made a torpedo-boat, designed to blow the Turks out of water, for their inhuman cruelties to the Greeks in the struggle to regain their freedom. This was about 1824 or 1825. He was indignant at the conduct of the Turks, and had his sympathies greatly excited in behalf of the struggling Greeks, and he determined to take up their cause in a very destructive way.] I planned a torpedo-boat, which might be sent from shore, or from a vessel, towards an enemy's ship six or eight miles off. The torpedo-boat was to be propelled by a screw and a steam-engine, and guided and directed towards its object by a couple of steel wires six or eight miles long, unwound from a suitable reel, and adjusted to the steering apparatus of the boat. I tried these wires first on a small steamer that I directed in the Harbor, near the Narrows, and they worked very well for six miles, until another boat came across my wires and broke them. When ready for service, I designed to place red-hot cannon balls in the boiler of my engine, to furnish the steam. The torpedo being placed on a bent piece of iron projecting far from the bow of my boat, when it struck the enemy the shock would explode the torpedo and bend the piece of iron, and by a proper contrivance reverse the action of the engine, and send the boat back again, guided and directed by the wires. I was preparing this torpedo-boat to go with the ship which our citizens were about to send, with provisions, clothing, and medicines, to the unfortunate victims of the Turkish war, and I designed it to be the "bitterest pill" in the whole cargo; but, unfortunately, I did not get it ready in time, and it was soon after burned up in my factory, with all the rest of the contents.

In 1828 I purchased three thousand acres of land within the city limits of Baltimore for one hundred and five thousand dollars (\$105,000). On a part of that property I erected the Canton Iron Works, which, afterwards, I sold to Mr. Abbot, of Balti-

more. I was drawn into this speculation in Baltimore by two men who represented that they had large means, and we bought together three thousand acres of land in the city of Baltimore for one hundred and five thousand dollars (\$105,000), taking the whole shore from Fell's Point dock for three miles. After paying my part of the money, I soon found that I had paid all that had been paid upon the property, and that I was even paying the board of the two men who had agreed to take part in the purchase. Finding that to be the situation, I was compelled to say to them that they must pay their part or sell out, or buy me out. Neither of them having the ability to buy, I finally succeeded in getting them to state a price. One offered to go out for ten thousand dollars (\$10,000), the other for a smaller sum, which offers I accepted and bought them out.

When we first purchased the property, it was in the midst of a great excitement created by a promise of the rapid completion of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, which had been commenced by a subscription of five dollars per share. In the course of the first year's operations they had spent more than the five dollars per share. But the road had to make so many short turns in going round points of rocks that they found they could not complete the road without a much larger sum than they had supposed would be necessary; while the many short turns in the road seemed to render it entirely useless for locomotive purposes. The principal stockholders had become so discouraged that they said they would not pay any more, and would lose all they had already paid in. After conversing with them, I told them that, if they would hold on a little while, I would put a small locomotive on the road, which I thought would demonstrate the practicability of using steam-engines on the road, even with all the short turns in it. I got up a small engine for that purpose, and put it on the road, and invited the stockholders to witness the experiment. After a great deal of trouble and difficulty in accomplishing the work, the stockholders came, and thirty-six men were taken into a car, and, with six men on the locomotive, which carried its own fuel and water, and having to go up hill eighteen feet to a mile and turn all the short turns around the points of rocks, we succeeded in making the thirteen miles, on the first passage out, in one hour and twelve minutes; and we returned from Ellicott's Mills to Baltimore in fifty-seven minutes.

This locomotive was built to demonstrate that cars could be drawn around short curves, beyond anything believed at that

time to be possible. The success of this locomotive also answered the question of the possibility of building railroads in a country scarce of capital, and with immense stretches of very rough country to pass, in order to connect commercial centres, without the deep cuts, the tunnelling, and levelling which short curves might avoid. My contrivance saved this road from bankruptcy.

The discouragement and stoppage of progress in improvement in the city of Baltimore that had been occasioned by the state of things in the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad made it difficult to do anything with the property before mentioned but to keep it; and in order to make it pay something towards meeting the cost, taxes, etc., I determined to build iron works upon it. I had four or five hundred tons of iron ore raised, dug, etc., at Lazaretto Point, and I determined to cut the wood off of the property, which was being stolen in every direction, and to burn it into charcoal, and use it up in making charcoal iron,—for which purpose I built a rolling-mill, which I afterwards sold to Mr. Abbot. In my efforts to make iron, I had to commence to burn the wood into charcoal, and, in order to do that, I erected large kilns, twenty-five feet in diameter, twelve feet high, circular in form, hooped around with iron at the top, arched over so as to make a tight place in which to put the wood, with single bricks left out in different places in order to smother the fire out when the wood was sufficiently burned.

After having burned the coal in one of these kilns very perfectly, and believing the fire entirely smothered out, we attempted to take the coal out of the kiln; but, when we had got it about half-way out, the coal itself took fire, and the men, after carrying water for some time to extinguish it, gave up in despair. I then went myself to the door of the kiln to see if anything more could be done, and just as I entered the door the gas itself took fire, and enveloped me in a sheet of flames. I had to run some ten feet to get out, and in doing so my eyebrows and whiskers were burned, and my fur hat was scorched down to the body of the fur. How I escaped I know not. I seemed to be literally blown out by the explosion, and I narrowly escaped with my life.

After seeing the difficulties that attended the making of iron there, I determined, having so large a property on my hands, to sell it for what I could get, and at the first offer made. I succeeded in getting an offer of nearly what it had cost me from two men from Boston, Amos Binney and Edmund Monroe. They formed out of the property what is now known as the Can-

ton Company. I took a considerable portion of my pay in stock, at forty-four dollars the share,—par value, one hundred dollars. I reserved the iron works sold to Mr. Abbot. And, as good luck would have it, the stock commenced rising almost at once, as soon as it was put into form, and continued to go up in the market until it attained the enormous figure of two hundred and thirty dollars per share. This enabled me to sell out my stock to a very great advantage, so that I made money by the operation.

I then returned to my old business in New York, and after one or two years built the iron factory in Thirty-third Street near Third Avenue. I leased it to a man who had it for one or two years and failed, and I had to take it off his hands. I turned it into a rolling-mill for rolling iron and making wire, and ran it for some years. I then removed to Trenton, N. J., where I bought water power to carry the works on, and enlarged the works by building a mill and a wire factory. A few years later I built three large blast furnaces at Phillipsburg, the largest then known, near Easton, Penn.; bought the Andover mines, and built a railroad through a rough country for eight miles, to bring the ore down to the furnaces, at the rate of 40,000 tons a year. After running the works for several years, I was induced to form them into a company called the Trenton Iron Works, including the rolling-mills and the blast furnaces, and 11,000 acres known as the Ringwood property. I had built a second rolling-mill and wire factory in Trenton, which was also included in the company. I sold one-half of these works in the formation of the company. This continued for a number of years, when a division was made, and the company took one part of the property, the blast furnaces, and I took the rolling-mills and the Ringwood property. This property is still in the family.

During all this time I had continued the manufacture of glue, isinglass, oil, prepared chalk, Paris white, and also the grinding of white lead, and fulling of buckskins, for the manufacture of buckskin leather. It was in one of those mills above mentioned that the first iron beams were rolled, now so much used in fire-proof buildings. In planning the building of the Cooper Union I desired to make it fire-proof as far as possible, and found no such iron beams could be obtained. I determined to have them rolled at one of my mills, but found, in the end, that the necessary experiments and suitable machinery had cost me seventy-five thousand dollars. It has proved, however, a profitable business since.

It is now [1877] twenty years since I became the president of the North American Telegraph Company, when it controlled more than one-half of all the lines then in the country; also president of the New York, Newfoundland, & London Telegraph Company. An attempt had been made to put a line of telegraph across Newfoundland, on which some work had been done. Cyrus W. Field, Moses Taylor, Marshal O. Roberts, Wilson G. Hunt, and myself completed that work across the island of Newfoundland, and then laid a cable across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, intending it as the beginning of a line from Europe to America by telegraphic communication. After one form of difficulty after another had been surmounted, we found that more than ten years had passed before we got a cent in return, and we had been spending money the whole time. We lost the first cable laid, which cost some three or four hundred thousand dollars, at the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

We hired a vessel at seven hundred and fifty dollars a day, and we directed the steamer "Adger" to go to Cape Bay, and tow the vessel across the Gulf, in order to lay the cable. We went to Port Basque, and found the vessel had not arrived. We accordingly anchored in Port Basque until she did arrive, which was two days later. On her arrival the captain was directed to take our vessel in tow, and carry her up to Cape Ray, where we had already prepared a telegraph house, from which to commence laying the cable. On this telegraph house we placed a flag-staff, which was to be kept in line by the steamer, as she crossed the Gulf, with a certain very excellent landmark on the top of a mountain some three, four, or five miles distant,—a landmark which seemed to be made on purpose for our use.

We had an accident at starting. We joined the ends of the cable and brought one end into the telegraph house, and made everything ready to take the vessel in tow. The captain was then directed to bring his steamer in line, take the vessel in tow, and carry her across the Gulf. In doing that, he ran his steamer into the vessel, carried away her shrouds and quarter-rail, and almost ruined our enterprise the first thing, dragging the cable over the stern of the vessel with such force as to break the connection; and we were obliged to cut the cable and splice it again. The captain of the steamer had failed entirely in trying to get hold of the vessel; and after we had mended the cable, and got everything ready for a second attempt, he was again ordered to take the vessel in tow. We had provided ourselves with two

large cables, two hundred feet long and four inches in diameter, as tow-lines, so as to be sure of having sufficient strength to tow the vessel in all kinds of weather; but the captain of the steamer so managed matters, in his second attempt to take the vessel in tow, as to get this cable entangled in the steamer's wheel, and he hallooed to the captain of the vessel to let his cable slip, in order to get this unentangled. At this the captain of the vessel let go his cable and lost his anchor and one of our big cables, for we had to cut it, in order to disentangle it from the wheel. After that was got loose there was the vessel without an anchor; and she was going rapidly down upon a reef of rocks, with a strong wind against her. It was only with the greatest difficulty that we could get the captain of the "Adger" to go to her relief, and save her from being dashed on the rocks, with her forty men on board. We had to expostulate with the captain of the steamer until the vessel was within two or three hundred feet of the rocks, before he would consent to attempt her rescue; and by the merest good luck we got out a rope to her and saved her from going on the rocks, when she was so close to the shore that we could almost have thrown a line there.

The captain of the steamer, however, got hold of the vessel at last, and brought her back to her place in the harbor, where we had to renew the connection of our cable, and prepare again to start. The third attempt to take hold of the vessel was successful, and on a beautiful morning we started to lay the cable across the Gulf. In a very little while I discovered that we were getting out of line with the marks that the captain had been directed to steer by. As president of the line, I called the matter to the attention of the captain. The answer I got was, "I know how to steer my ship: I steer by my compass." It went on a little while longer, and finding that he was still going farther out of the line, I called his attention to the fact again, and so on, again and again, for some time, until he had got some eight or ten miles out of the line. I then said to him, "Captain, we shall have to hold you responsible for the loss of this cable." We got a lawyer on board to draw up a paper to present to him, stating that we should hold him responsible for the loss of the cable, as he had not obeyed the orders of Mr. Buchanan, as agreed on. After we had served this paper upon him, he turned the course of his ship, and went just as far from the line in the other direction. He had also agreed not to let his vessel go more than a mile and a half an hour, as it was impossible, under the circumstances, to

pay out the cable faster than a mile and a half an hour. It was discovered, however, that he was running his vessel faster and faster, while Mr. Buchanan hallooed, "Slower, slower," until finally the captain got a kink in the cable, and was obliged to stop. This happened several times.

So much delay took place that, when it was late in the afternoon, we had not laid over forty miles of the cable out of the eighty miles that we had to go in crossing the Gulf. Then a very severe gale came up, and raged with such violence that the steamer "Victoria," which was a small one, came near being swamped; and in order to save that vessel, and the forty men on board of her, we were compelled to cut the cable.

Subsequently we sent a vessel to take up that part of the cable; and it was then found that we had payed out twenty-four miles of cable, and had gone only nine miles from shore. We had spent so much money, and lost so much time, that it was very vexatious to us to have our enterprise defeated in the way it was, by the stupidity and obstinacy of one man. This man was one of the rebels that fired the first guns upon Fort Sumter. The poor fellow is now dead.

Having lost this cable, we ordered another, and had it ready in a year or two. This time we had a good man to put it down, and we had no trouble with it. The great question then came up, What could we do about an ocean cable? After getting a few subscriptions here, which did not amount to much, we sent Mr. Field across the ocean, to see if he could get the balance of the subscriptions in England; and he succeeded, to the astonishment of almost everybody, because we had been set down as crazy people, spending our money as if it had been water. Mr. Field succeeded in getting the amount wanted, and in contracting for a cable. It was put on two ships which were to meet in mid-ocean. They did meet, joined the two ends of the cable, and laid it down successfully. We brought our end to Newfoundland, where we received over it some four hundred messages. Very soon after it started, however, we found it began to fail, and it grew weaker and weaker, until at length it could not be understood any more.

It so happened that the few messages that we received over the cable were important to the English government; for it had arranged to transport a large number of soldiers from Canada to China in the war with the Chinese, and, just before the transports were to make sail, a telegram came stating that peace

was declared. This inspired the people of England with confidence in our final success. This occurred just before the Crystal Palace burned down, and we had a meeting in the Crystal Palace to celebrate the great triumph of having received and sent messages across the ocean. Our triumph was short-lived, for it was only a few days after that the cable had so weakened in transmitting that it could no longer be understood. One-half the people did not now believe that we had ever had any messages across the cable. It was all a humbug, they thought. In the Chamber of Commerce the question came up about a telegraph line, and a man got up and said: "It is all a humbug. No message ever came over." At that Mr. Cunard arose, and said that "the gentleman did not know what he was talking about, and had no right to say what he had, and that he himself had sent messages and got the answers." Mr. Cunard was a positive witness; he had been on the spot; and the man must have felt "slim" at the result of his attempt to cast ridicule on men whose efforts, if unsuccessful, were at least not unworthy of praise.

We succeeded in getting another cable, but, when we had got it about half-way over, we lost that as well. Then the question seemed hopeless. We thought for a long time that our money was all lost. The matter rested some two years before anything more was done. My friend Mr. Wilson G. Hunt used to talk to me often about it; for we had brought him into the Board some two or three years before. He said he did not feel much interest in it, but he felt concerned about spending so much money; and he remarked that he was not sure, as we had spent so much money already about the telegraph line, but that we had better spend a little more. So we sent Mr. Field out again. We had spent so much money already, it was "like pulling teeth" out of Roberts and Taylor to get more money from them; but we got up the sum necessary to send Mr. Field out.

When he arrived there, Mr. Field said they laughed at him for thinking of getting up another cable. They said that they thought the thing was dead enough, and buried deep enough in the ocean to satisfy anybody. But Mr. Field was not satisfied. Finally, he got hold of an old Quaker friend, who was a very rich man, and he so completely electrified him with the idea of the work that he put three or four hundred thousand dollars into it immediately to lay another cable, and in fourteen days after Mr. Field had got that man's name he had the whole amount of subscriptions made up, six millions of dollars.

The cable was made and put down, and it worked successfully. We then went out to see if we could not pick up the other one. The balance of the lost cable was on board the ship. The cable was found, picked up, and joined to the rest; and this wonder of the world was accomplished. I do not think that feat is surpassed by any other human achievement. The cable was taken out of water, two and a half miles deep, in mid-ocean. It was pulled up three times, before it was saved. They got it up just far enough to see it, and it would go down again, and they would have to do the work over again. They used up all their coal, and spent ten or twelve days in "hooking" for the cable before it was finally caught. But they succeeded: the two ends of the cable were brought in connection, and then we had two complete cables across the ocean.

In taking up the first cable, the cause of the failure was discovered. It originated in the manufacture of the cable. In passing the cable into the vat provided for it, where it was intended to lie under water all the time, until put aboard the ship, the workmen neglected to keep the water at all times over the cable; and on one occasion, when the sun shone very hotly down into this vat where the cable was lying uncovered, its rays melted the gutta-percha, so that the copper wire inside sunk down against the outer covering. I have a piece of the cable which shows just how it occurred. The first cable that was laid would have been a perfect success if it had not been for that error in manufacturing it. The copper wire sagged down against the outside covering, and there was just a thin layer of gutta-percha to prevent it from coming in contact with the water. In building the first cables, their philosophy was not so well understood as it is now; and so, when the cable began to fail, they increased the power of the battery, and it is supposed that a spark of the electricity came in contact with water, and the electricity passed off into the water.

After the two ocean cables had been laid successfully, it was found necessary to have a second cable across the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Our delays had been so trying and unfortunate in the past that none of the stockholders, with the exception of Mr. Field, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Roberts, and myself, would take any interest in the matter. We had to get the money by offering bonds, which we had power to do by charter; and these were offered at fifty cents on the dollar. Mr. Field, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Taylor, and myself were compelled to take up the principal part

of the stock at that rate, in order to get the necessary funds. We had to do the business through the Bank of Newfoundland, and the bank would not trust the company, but drew personally on me. I told them to draw on the company, but they continued to draw on me, and I had to pay the drafts or let them go back protested. I was often out ten or twenty thousand dollars in advance, in that way, to keep the thing going. After the cable became a success, the stock rose to ninety dollars per share, at which figure we sold out to an English company. That proved to be the means of saving us from loss. The work was finished at last, and I never have regretted it, although it was a terrible time to go through.

ABRAM S. HEWITT'S SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT OF THE COOPER UNION, MAY 31, 1902.

For forty-three blessed years it has been my privilege to present, on behalf of the Trustees, the report of the operations of the Cooper Union. I have never had the report read, but usually talked to the audience here assembled in a confidential sort of way, pointing out various matters which I thought might interest us as members of one family, all devoted to one great object,—the diffusion of knowledge through the Cooper Union. Usually I have had no difficulty in selecting the topic upon which I desired to talk. It was generally a statement that the income of the Institution was entirely inadequate to meet the demands made by the public for its privileges; that we wanted more money; that we wanted more room; that we wanted to get rid of the tenants; that we wanted more funds to pay more teachers, and to let in more of the public until every foot of space, from this floor where we are assembled to-night, right up to the roof, should be entirely devoted to the purpose for which Mr. Cooper designed it; namely, the free education of the masses of the people of the city of New York, who desired not only to be self-supporting, but to aid others in the course of time in getting an honest livelihood.

The greater part of these forty-three years this appeal seemed to fall upon deaf ears. Very few persons gave us anything, and although the amounts, when they were given, were perhaps considerable in themselves, yet they were totally inadequate to carry out the plans which we had in view. In other words, my task was like the wail of Jeremiah, and I confess that I did not expect to live to see accomplished the great object which the Trustees had in view—of freeing this Institution from its secular uses and devoting it entirely to educational purposes. But we have struck what my young friend, the valedictorian, calls a volcano, and we have done what I think he

will find it rather difficult to do with his volcano. Ours is a financial volcano, and we have appropriated what was discharged with a facility and a success that we think thoroughly commendable.

If you had at hand a report of last year, you would find that our endowment fund then amounted to nine hundred and fifty-eight thousand dollars. By the report which the Treasurer has just presented to you, our endowment fund now amounts to two million one hundred and thirteen thousand, three hundred and fifty dollars and thirty cents, being an increase during the year, in round numbers, of twelve hundred thousand dollars. I really do not want to take up your time, but this is such an extraordinary event, and the results of it are so far-reaching, that I think I will have to ask your indulgence while I go into a little history of the Cooper Union. Mr. Cooper was a poor boy, born of good Revolutionary stock, but, like most of the patriots of that time, he had a good deal more patriotism than money. He began life as an apprentice. There were no schools in New York in those days,—no night schools. He was very anxious to get on, but there was no place where he could obtain an education. He had no money with which to pay a teacher. So he had to get what knowledge he could get by himself, and, as I have often heard him say, by the light of the single tallow candle which his means made him able to get; and that every night he passed his time trying to acquire some knowledge which would be of use to him in the battle of life. This made a great impression on him, and he determined that the reproach of New York, of its lack of means for free education, should be removed.

This occurred about the beginning of the last century, in 1804 or 1805, and he set himself to work, alone, without friends, without suggestions from any quarter, to get money enough together to open what he called a night school, for at that time there was not a single free night school in New York City. This was the purpose of his life. He never lost sight of it; and I will tell you this—I tell these young men and women here this story particularly in order that they may see how a noble purpose formed by even the most friendless boy may result in course of time in great benefits to society. And so he pursued his course. He was, of course, a man of great natural ability and great strength of character. I have often heard him say that the first thing a young man should do was to save a little money; that no man could succeed in life who did not begin by saving; and that when a man had saved a little money and had acquired some property he was pretty sure then to make a good citizen. So, in the institution which he proposed to found, he never lost sight of the fact that he wanted to inculcate thrift; he wanted to teach industry; he wanted the lesson of saving to be learned; and he left the rest to the conscience of the good citizens he knew would be produced by such lessons. And, as he provided for the kind of education which these young gentlemen have had, he said that of all the things to be taught in the Cooper Union the pre-eminent one must be the art—the science, as he called it—of

good government. He did not mean by this merely the teachings of political economy or political science, but an inculcation of the principle that men "shall do unto each other as they would have others do unto them."

The time came when he had accumulated money enough to begin to build a building. His original idea of a night school was of a rather moderate character, but it very soon enlarged itself until at last, having selected this site, on which he had carried on business for some years, he was able to buy the whole block, and he proceeded to erect this building. He knew, when he undertook this task, that his means would not suffice for more than the erection of the building, and he was determined not to incur any debts. When he called the Trustees together to receive the property at his hands, he said to them: "Here is this building. I want it appropriated as soon as possible to the education of the young men and young women of New York City, and appropriated to *free* education. There must be no fee paid in the Cooper Union, for education ought to be as free as air and water." He said: "I have given practically all the property that I can control to build this building, and here is thirty thousand dollars more which I have left over, with which you can furnish the apparatus required, and for carrying on the work of instruction. I have called this building the Union for the Advancement of Science and Art. Against my wishes and against my will the legislature have, unfortunately, attached to it the name of Cooper. I did not want my name attached to the Union. I wanted this to be a union of all well-disposed people in New York who are willing to contribute to carry out the work of free education in the building I have created. But," he said, "the use of this name will inevitably, to some extent, interfere with my views for that purpose, and hence you will have to rent as much as is necessary of this building in order to maintain the classes and the reading-room."

Under those circumstances, forty-three years ago, the Trustees entered upon their task. From the very outset the demands upon the institution for admission to it were far greater than the income which they could possibly derive from the rented portions of the building. Hence the great object of these Trustees was to secure an endowment fund; and Mr. Cooper before his death was able to provide two hundred thousand dollars, the income from which he thought would be able to pay the running expenses of the building and keep it in order, but would not, of course, pay the expenses of instruction. He said to the Trustees, "I hope, before you die, the day will come when some one will give money enough to free this institution from the encumbrance of tenants, and devote it entirely to the work of free education."

Up to the time of his death very little money had been contributed; but soon after his death the family of his younger brother, Mr. William Cooper, who had obtained a fortune in connection with Mr. Cooper, gave in successive gifts, owing to the death of successive members of

the family, the sum of three hundred and forty thousand dollars. Those of you who have been in the institution for any length of time will remember that this happened about five years ago, and was immediately followed by the enlargement of the classes in the rooms in the two floors above this. That was the first considerable sum of money the Trustees had received, and it did not come until thirty years after the building had been established. In giving an account of this transaction in the report of that year, it was mentioned that this sum would enable the extension of the work, but it was also stated that it was entirely inadequate to gain the great object which we all had in view, of ridding the building of tenants, and an appeal was made to the public to gain money, but none came.

But this appeal came to the notice of Mr. Carnegie, who was a great admirer of Mr. Cooper, and he has never tired of saying that Mr. Cooper's example had been of great help to him, and had given him great inspiration in the use of his money in advancing public education. He wrote to me that he wanted in some way to manifest his admiration for Mr. Cooper and his sympathy for our efforts in enlarging the institution. The amount he offered to give us was one hundred thousand dollars. In reply to this offer I mentioned to Mr. Carnegie that we were very glad to get it, and that it would be the beginning of a fund that would be sufficient in the course of time to keep the whole institution. He said in reply: "I did not understand the case. Let me give three hundred thousand dollars."

"Yes," I replied, "three hundred thousand dollars, with three hundred thousand dollars more added to it, will enable us to begin to take possession of the greater part of the building,—of all the building except the stores,—and to widen the scope of the scheme of education."

Later Mr. Carnegie offered to give three hundred thousand dollars more. And this reminds me of President Lincoln during the war times, when he was always asking for three hundred thousand more. It had previously been arranged by Mr. Peter Cooper's descendants that a trust fund of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars created by him for the benefit of his grandchildren, and the residuary interest of his children of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in the property subject to the trust, should come to the institution on the deaths of the members of the family as they occurred. It was now arranged that the whole property should be transferred to the institution at once to meet Mr. Carnegie's gifts, so that in the month of January last between this six hundred thousand dollars and Mr. Carnegie's two gifts of three hundred thousand dollars each there was an increase in the amount of the endowment fund of twelve hundred thousand dollars over what it was before Mr. Carnegie gave his first three hundred thousand.

On the strength of this gift I thought I saw the way clear to notify the tenants to quit the stores, and most of them have moved out, all but two, who have leases which will not be terminated until next year.

We shall then have possession of the floor above, and practically the whole floor will be made into a great physical laboratory.

But this would not be sufficient. The scale on which the operation of the institution was to be carried on would require another sum of money, and I was speculating in my own mind where the next three hundred thousand dollars would come from. You can imagine my astonishment at what followed. A gentleman whom I have long known—a gentleman who had never manifested any special interest in the Cooper Union—called at my house, and after chatting pleasantly on various subjects, and after having had a little cup of tea with me, as he was just going away, he said, “By the way, I have got something for you, a little gift for Cooper Union”; and to my intense astonishment he handed me two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. I confess that I have not recovered. I cannot realize it, that for forty odd years we have been struggling with this problem, with a sort of vague hope that in some way or other the answer would come from some quarter or other,—I cannot realize that it has been answered. There was an arrangement which Mr. Edward Cooper and I had made with our respective families by which we knew that ultimately six hundred thousand dollars would come to the institution, so as to at least replace the rents which would be lost. But we had gone on for forty years considering this matter, and every trustee doing what he could to make the position more tolerable. Let me say that three of us of the original trustees, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Parsons, and myself, are still living. There were originally five trustees, and three of them are still alive. To them he gave this charge, that they should see to it, if they could, that this institution should be made free from every occupation except that of the distribution of knowledge. Mr. Parsons is not here to-night. For forty odd years he has gratuitously attended to all the legal business of this institution, and that in itself is no small undertaking. And besides this he has contributed to the endowment fund, he has given twenty thousand dollars to the endowment fund in order to manifest his interest in the institution.

And here we are, with an income of not less than ninety thousand dollars, possibly it may amount to a hundred thousand dollars, sufficient to pay the expenses of this institution according to the original plans of Mr. Cooper, made nearly a hundred years ago; yes, quite a hundred years ago, when he was a poor boy, working as an apprentice, and followed during his long lifetime of ninety-three years; followed by his children since his death, and prior to his death for forty years, and before his immediate family has passed away this great undertaking had been accomplished.

Now, young gentlemen, I want you to see and to learn that a noble resolution, once formed and resolutely adhered to from generation to generation, will ultimately work out its destiny and secure its triumph. That is the great moral lesson which this institution has taught, and, while I do not underestimate the value of the technical and scientific

instruction which has been given by this institution, let me say that the moral lesson afforded by the Cooper Union in the story as I have told it to you,—the moral lesson is one of the greatest I have ever known, or ever expect to know, in the history of man.

You may ask me if the days of miracles have really passed; for this seems like some miracle, that the Cooper Union should have achieved this result. I will tell you how it was expected to be achieved. Mr. Cooper said that of course in the course of a hundred years there would be a great many graduates of the institution, alumni. "The day will come," he said, "when they, these graduates, will rally around this institution, and, if the plans I have formed can be executed in no other way, they will see that my plans are executed." Now in forty years I have been waiting for these alumni, but they did not pan out. But in many respects this has been a very remarkable year, for about two months ago I received a letter from Mr. Elmer E. Garnsey, in which he says:—

I thank you for your kind letter of the 4th inst., and for your approval of my suggestion, made through Mr. R. Swain Gifford. I shall take an early opportunity of arranging with him to accept your very courteous invitation to meet, at your house, the ladies who have founded the Museum of Decorative Art; and later I shall be glad to revisit the Night Classes in Art, and to report to the Trustees anything that may occur to me, worthy their consideration. I am glad that my little contribution may be kept separate from the general funds of the Union, and the foundation may bear my name or not, as you may consider wise and proper. My whole desire is to express in some degree my appreciation of what Cooper Union and its great founder have done for me, in a manner that shall have the approval of those who have so splendidly carried on the work begun by Peter Cooper, and at the same time be of benefit to those who are studying and working to improve themselves, in their leisure hours. For the establishment of the fund, I enclose, to your order, my cheque for one thousand dollars.

I read that letter because it is the first contribution in money we have ever received from an alumnus. Then a few days ago—it was received too late to put in this year's report—I got this letter from Mr. John F. O'Rourke:—

Dear Sir.—It gives me great happiness to enclose you herewith check for \$5,000 to be used by the Board of Trustees as they deem best. The education which I received at Cooper Union fitted me for the practice of civil engineering in such a thorough and practical manner that it was my good fortune to occupy positions of responsibility at an earlier age than I have known graduates of other technical schools to attain, with the result that I can make this contribution now, anticipating to further aid my Alma Mater in a far greater degree some time in the not very distant future.

Mr. O'Rourke stands to-day at the head of the constructive engineers in the United States. His success has been phenomenal. He is the

inventor of the system which is used in all the sky-scrappers, these tall buildings, of placing the foundations on pneumatic caissons. Every one of these buildings has to use Mr. O'Rourke's system, and he tells me that for every foundation which he puts in in the future he expects to make a further contribution to the Cooper Union.

They say that misfortunes never come singly, but in our case I am very glad to say that good fortune never comes alone. I received a letter from the town of Krakow in Poland some weeks ago, announcing that a Mr. Felix Kucielski had died and left the sum of five thousand dollars to the Cooper Union. I did not attach much importance to it until I got a notice from the Austrian consul in New York that there were five thousand dollars awaiting us in Krakow, Poland, which we could get as soon as we sent the proper vouchers and identifications for its collection. I suppose that this gentleman must at some time have been in New York and have had some knowledge of the Cooper Union, for I cannot imagine how any one away off in Poland could make such an endowment unless that had been the case.

Young gentlemen, wherever you may go, wherever your work may take you, whether to Kamtschatka or to Martinique, I want you to remember that Cooper Union is quite ready to receive contributions from every habitable part of the world.

Now a word or two more. I may be saying so much on account of your applause. I have not always had so much applause given me in the course of my lifetime. They say, "Old men dream dreams." Well, Dr. Slicer says that it is the young men who dream. And the dream that I dreamed forty years or more ago has to-night come true. "Old men see visions." I think I am right, but it may be that I have reversed the Scriptures. I am an old man, and I see a vision of the future. The Cooper Union is now complete. It is a finished institution, although, as a matter of course, we can spend a great deal more money when it is sent to us. But it can run from this day forward on the resources which it has acquired. But I should be sorry to see that the Cooper Union was going to stop with this building or the work it is doing here. The work which we have undertaken to do is to teach the scientific principles which underlie the arts of the country. We never undertook to teach the trades. We never intend to teach what are known as the constructive trades. But there are established in Germany, England, and, to some extent, in France, industries which are not extensively carried on in the United States, although we have the richest country in the world. These trades are what are known as the handicrafts. They deal with the application of the arts to the finer classes of constructive work and materials, the textiles, gold, silver, and the metals, the manufacture of instruments of precision, and a high order of mechanical work. Work of this class we chiefly import, as a rule, for not many Americans are art workers of that kind. To carry out this work, we require a good deal of money and a good deal of space. That is the second chapter in the history of the Cooper

Union. The present Trustees have no hope of being able to execute this object in their lifetime. They but look forward to these handicrafts. In Paris at the present time there are ninety schools which are giving instruction in art industry.

Now we have located in this neighborhood the armory of the Sixty-ninth Regiment, which is soon to be vacated. This armory belongs to the city, and if the city would turn it over to us after it is vacated, for the establishment of these classes of handicraft work, I am very sure, from what I now know, that I can secure an endowment sufficient to carry on the work. This would cost the city nothing, and there would be no burden on the city for keeping it up. The city would merely appropriate the armory for the work in the same way that they have appropriated land and buildings for the establishment of the Museum of Art and the Museum of Natural History.

By the time our new laboratory is done, the Astor Library will be vacant. The building in itself is of no value except as a library, and we need it for a library. It is admirably designed for this purpose, and is admirably located for the extension of the work of this institution, and in proximity to this building, where the work of administration would have to be carried on. The most economical use to which it could be put would be to turn it over to Cooper Union, as otherwise it would be of no value except for the value of the land. Now I hope it will enter into the heart of some one, after I am dead and gone,—though I do not object if they do it while I am alive,—to add to the Cooper Union one or both of these great buildings for the extension of the work we are carrying on here. We could then remove our reading-room and library to the Astor Library, and that space could be devoted to the Art Museum, which I think is getting to be one of the most instructive additions to the education of New York.

If Dr. Slicer had not told me it is the old men who have visions, I should think that I was a young man. Perhaps it was after all not a mistake, but a twist of the tongue. I am in my eightieth year. I am seeing visions because I am so much younger than some of less years than are mine, because I am still young and fresh. If so, I shall be quite glad to live to see any extensions to the Cooper Union which may be possible. In conclusion let me again quote the Scriptures, and say, for the Trustees, that we have "fought the good fight. We have finished our course with joy." And for myself, since I have got in the quotation line, I think I am quite prepared to say, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

The account of Peter Cooper's early life printed in the present leaflet is described by Professor J. C. Zachos of the Cooper Union, who prepared it for publication, as an "autobiography written by another." It is the record of conversations by Mr. Cooper upon his early life, and was prefixed to a collection of "The Political and Financial Opinions of Peter Cooper," published by Professor Zachos in 1877. What Professor Zachos properly calls the "crowning glory" of Mr. Cooper's life, the Cooper Union, is hardly mentioned in the autobiography. The speech by Abram S. Hewett in 1902, here appended to the autobiography, tells the story of the founding of the Union and of the remarkable series of gifts by which in recent years its work and influence have been so largely expanded. This speech was made by Mr. Hewett in his eightieth year, the year before his death. Mr. Cooper's son-in-law and associate in business, and one of the trustees of the Cooper Union for more than forty years, no other understood so well as Mr. Hewett its history and its founder's purposes. The Union was incorporated and the building (begun in 1854) completed, at a cost of \$634,000, in 1859, in the centre of the industrial and trading population of New York. In an address to the graduating class in 1864, Mr. Cooper spoke as follows of the idea which prompted the founding of the Union:

"It happened more than thirty years ago that I was elected a member of the Common Council of this city. At that time I became acquainted with a gentleman who had then lately returned from France. That gentleman informed me that while he was in Paris he had attended the free Polytechnic school provided by the government. He spoke in glowing terms of the great advantage he had received from the consummate ability of the teachers and the perfect appliances used for illustration. What interested me most deeply was the fact that hundreds of young men were there from all parts of France, living on a bare crust of bread a day to get the benefit of those lectures. Feeling then, as I always have, my own want of education, and more especially my want of scientific knowledge as applicable to the various callings in which I had been engaged, it was this want of my own, which I felt so keenly, that led me, in deep sympathy for those whom I knew would be subject to the same wants and inconvenience that I had encountered,—it was this feeling which led me to provide an institution where a course of instruction would be open and free to all who felt a want of scientific knowledge, as applicable to any of the useful purposes of life. Having started in life with naked hands and an honest purpose, I persevered through long years of trial and effort to obtain the means to erect this building, which is now entirely devoted, with all its rents and revenue of every name and nature, to the advancement of science and art."

There is a biography of Peter Cooper by Rossiter W. Raymond, who knew him well; and in its chapters Mr. Cooper's active interests in municipal affairs and national politics, as well as in business, invention, education and philanthropy, are clearly set forth. Various pamphlets and addresses by Mr. Cooper upon slavery, currency problems and other public issues were published during his lifetime. In 1876 he was the nominee of the Greenback party for the presidency. He died in 1883. His funeral was an almost unexampled manifestation of public love and veneration. In the great multitude which passed through All Souls' Church, where his body lay, were 3,500 students of the Cooper Union, who cast flowers upon the coffin. See "Recollections of Peter Cooper," by Susan N. Carter, in the Century Magazine, December, 1883, and other magazine articles.

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Memorial to the Legislature of Massachusetts

1843

BY DOROTHEA L. DIX.

Gentlemen,—I respectfully ask to present this Memorial, believing that the *cause*, which actuates to and sanctions so unusual a movement, presents no equivocal claim to public consideration and sympathy. Surrendering to calm and deep convictions of duty my habitual views of what is womanly and becoming, I proceed briefly to explain what has conducted me before you unsolicited and unsustained, trusting, while I do so, that the memorialist will be speedily forgotten in the memorial.

About two years since leisure afforded opportunity and duty prompted me to visit several prisons and almshouses in the vicinity of this metropolis. I found, near Boston, in the jails and asylums for the poor, a numerous class brought into unsuitable connection with criminals and the general mass of paupers. I refer to idiots and insane persons, dwelling in circumstances not only adverse to their own physical and moral improvement, but productive of extreme disadvantages to all other persons brought into association with them. I applied myself diligently to trace the causes of these evils, and sought to supply remedies. As one obstacle was surmounted, fresh difficulties appeared. Every new investigation has given depth to the conviction that it is only by decided, prompt, and vigorous legislation the evils to which I refer, and which I shall proceed more fully to illustrate, can be remedied. I shall be obliged to speak with great plainness, and to reveal many things revolting to the taste, and from

which my woman's nature shrinks with peculiar sensitiveness. But truth is the highest consideration. *I tell what I have seen*—painful and shocking as the details often are—that from them you may feel more deeply the imperative obligation which lies upon you to prevent the possibility of a repetition or continuance of such outrages upon humanity. If I inflict pain upon you, and move you to horror, it is to acquaint you with sufferings which you have the power to alleviate, and make you hasten to the relief of the victims of legalized barbarity.

I come to present the strong claims of suffering humanity. I come to place before the Legislature of Massachusetts the condition of the miserable, the desolate, the outcast. I come as the advocate of helpless, forgotten, insane, and idiotic men and women; of beings sunk to a condition from which the most unconcerned would start with real horror; of beings wretched in our prisons, and more wretched in our almshouses. And I cannot suppose it needful to employ earnest persuasion, or stubborn argument, in order to arrest and fix attention upon a subject only the more strongly pressing in its claims because it is revolting and disgusting in its details.

I must confine myself to few examples, but am ready to furnish other and more complete details, if required. If my pictures are displeasing, coarse, and severe, my subjects, it must be recollected, offer no tranquil, refined, or composing features. The condition of human beings, reduced to the extremest states of degradation and misery, cannot be exhibited in softened language, or adorn a polished page.

I proceed, gentlemen, briefly to call your attention to the *present* state of insane persons confined within this Commonwealth, in *cages, closets, cellars, stalls, pens! Chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience.*

As I state cold, severe *facts*, I feel obliged to refer to persons, and definitely to indicate localities. But it is upon my subject, not upon localities or individuals, I desire to fix attention; and I would speak as kindly as possible of all wardens, keepers, and other responsible officers, believing that *most* of these have erred not through hardness of heart and wilful cruelty so much as want of skill and knowledge, and want of consideration. Familiarity with suffering, it is said, blunts the sensibilities, and where neglect once finds a footing other injuries are multiplied. This is not all, for it may justly and strongly be added that, from the deficiency of adequate means to meet the wants of

these cases, it has been an absolute impossibility to do justice in this matter. Prisons are not constructed in view of being converted into county hospitals, and almshouses are not founded as receptacles for the insane. And yet, in the face of justice and common sense, wardens are by law compelled to receive, and the masters of almshouses not to refuse, insane and idiotic subjects in all stages of mental disease and privation.

It is the Commonwealth, not its integral parts, that is accountable for most of the abuses which have lately and do still exist. I repeat it, it is defective legislation which perpetuates and multiplies these abuses. In illustration of my subject, I offer the following extracts from my Note-book and Journal:—

Springfield. In the jail, one lunatic woman, furiously mad, a State pauper, improperly situated, both in regard to the prisoners, the keepers, and herself. It is a case of extreme self-forgetfulness and oblivion to all the decencies of life, to describe which would be to repeat only the grossest scenes. She is much worse since leaving Worcester. In the almshouse of the same town is a woman apparently only needing judicious care, and some well-chosen employment, to make it unnecessary to confine her in solitude, in a dreary unfurnished room. Her appeals for employment and companionship are most touching, but the mistress replied “she had no time to attend to her.”

Northampton. In the jail, quite lately, was a young man violently mad, who had not, as I was informed at the prison, come under medical care, and not been returned from any hospital. In the almshouse the cases of insanity are now unmarked by abuse, and afford evidence of judicious care by the keepers.

Williamsburg. The almshouse has several insane, not under suitable treatment. No apparent intentional abuse.

Rutland. Appearance and report of the insane in the almshouse not satisfactory.

Sterling. A terrible case; manageable in a hospital; at present as well controlled perhaps as circumstances in a case so extreme allow. An almshouse, but wholly wrong in relation to the poor crazy woman, to the paupers generally, and to her keepers.

Burlington. A woman, declared to be very insane; decent room and bed; but not allowed to rise oftener, the mistress said, “than every other day: it is too much trouble.”

Concord. A woman from the hospital in a cage in the almshouse. In the jail several, decently cared for in general, but

not properly placed in a prison. Violent, noisy, unmanageable most of the time.

Lincoln. A woman in a cage. *Medford.* One idiotic subject chained, and one in a close stall for seventeen years. *Pep-perell.* One often doubly chained, hand and foot; another violent; several peaceable now. *Brookfield.* One man caged, comfortable. *Granville.* One often closely confined; now losing the use of his limbs from want of exercise. *Charlemont.* One man caged. *Savoy.* One man caged. *Lenox.* Two in the jail, against whose unfit condition there the jailer protests.

Dedham. The insane disadvantageously placed in the jail. In the almshouse, two females in stalls, situated in the main building; lie in wooden bunks filled with straw; always shut up. One of these subjects is supposed curable. The overseers of the poor have declined giving her a trial at the hospital, as I was informed, on account of expense.

Franklin. One man chained; decent. *Taunton.* One woman caged. *Plymouth.* One man stall-caged, from Worcester Hospital. *Scituate.* One man and one woman stall-caged. *West Bridgewater.* Three idiots. Never removed from one room. *Barnstable.* Four females in pens and stalls. Two chained certainly. I think all. Jail, one idiot. *Wellfleet.* Three insane. One man and one woman chained, the latter in a bad condition. *Brewster.* One woman violently mad, solitary. Could not see her, the master and mistress being absent, and the paupers in charge having strict orders to admit no one. *Rochester.* Seven insane; at present none caged. *Milford.* Two insane, not now caged. *Cohasset.* One idiot, one insane; most miserable condition. *Plympton.* One insane, three idiots; condition wretched.

Besides the above, I have seen many who, part of the year, are chained or caged. The use of cages all but universal. Hardly a town but can refer to some not distant period of using them; chains are less common; negligences frequent; wilful abuse less frequent than sufferings proceeding from ignorance, or want of consideration. I encountered during the last three months many poor creatures wandering reckless and unprotected through the country. Innumerable accounts have been sent me of persons who had roved away unwatched and unsearched after; and I have heard that responsible persons, controlling the almshouses, have not thought themselves culpable in sending away from their shelter, to cast upon the chances of remote relief,

insane men and women. These, left on the highways, unfriended and incompetent to control or direct their own movements, sometimes have found refuge in the hospital, and others have not been traced. But I cannot particularize. In traversing the State, I have found hundreds of insane persons in every variety of circumstance and condition, many whose situation could not and need not be improved; a less number, but that very large, whose lives are the saddest pictures of human suffering and degradation. I give a few illustrations; but description fades before reality.

Danvers. November. Visited the almshouse. A large building, much out of repair. Understand a new one is in contemplation. Here are from fifty-six to sixty inmates, one idiotic, three insane; one of the latter in close confinement at all times.

Long before reaching the house, wild shouts, snatches of rude songs, imprecations and obscene language, fell upon the ear, proceeding from the occupant of a low building, rather remote from the principal building to which my course was directed. Found the mistress, and was conducted to the place which was called "*the home*" of the *forlorn* maniac, a young woman, exhibiting a condition of neglect and misery blotting out the faintest idea of comfort, and outraging every sentiment of decency. She had been, I learnt, "a respectable person, industrious and worthy. Disappointments and trials shook her mind, and, finally, laid prostrate reason and self-control. She became a maniac for life. She had been at Worcester Hospital for a considerable time, and had been returned as incurable." The mistress told me she understood that, "while there, she was comfortable and decent." Alas, what a change was here exhibited! She had passed from one degree of violence to another, in swift progress. There she stood, clinging to or beating upon the bars of her caged apartment, the contracted size of which afforded space only for increasing accumulations of filth, a *foul* spectacle. There she stood with naked arms and dishevelled hair, the unwashed frame invested with fragments of unclean garments, the air so extremely offensive, though ventilation was afforded on all sides save one, that it was not possible to remain beyond a few moments without retreating for recovery to the outward air. Irritation of body, produced by utter filth and exposure, incited her to the horrid process of tearing off her skin by inches. Her face, neck, and person were thus disfigured to hideousness. She held up a fragment just

rent off. To my exclamation of horror, the mistress replied: "Oh, we can't help it. Half the skin is off sometimes. We can do nothing with her; and it makes no difference what she eats, for she consumes her own filth as readily as the food which is brought her."

It is now January. A fortnight since two visitors reported that most wretched outcast as "wallowing in dirty straw, in a place yet more dirty, and without clothing, without fire. Worse cared for than the brutes, and wholly lost to consciousness of decency." Is the whole story told? What was seen is: what is reported is not. These gross exposures are not for the pained sight of one alone. All, all, coarse, brutal men, wondering, neglected children, old and young, each and all, witness this lowest, foulest state of miserable humanity. And who protects her, that worse than Pariah outcast, from other wrongs and blacker outrages? I do not *know* that such *have been*. I do know that they are to be dreaded, and that they are not guarded against.

Some may say these things cannot be remedied, these furious maniacs are not to be raised from these base conditions. I *know* they are. Could give *many* examples. Let *one* suffice. A young woman, a pauper, in a distant town, Sandisfield, was for years a raging maniac. A cage, chains, and *the whip* were the agents for controlling her, united with harsh tones and profane language. Annually, with others (the town's poor), she was put up at auction, and bid off at the lowest price which was declared for her. One year, not long past, an old man came forward in the number of applicants for the poor wretch. He was taunted and ridiculed. "What would he and his old wife do with such a mere beast?" "My wife says yes," replied he, "and I shall take her." She was given to his charge. He conveyed her home. She was washed, neatly dressed, and placed in a decent bedroom, furnished for comfort and opening into the kitchen. How altered her condition! As yet *the chains* were not off. The first week she was somewhat restless, at times violent, but the quiet, kind ways of the old people wrought a change. She received her food decently, forsook acts of violence, and no longer uttered blasphemies or indecent language. After a week the chain was lengthened, and she was received as a companion into the kitchen. Soon she engaged in trivial employments. "After a fortnight," said the old man, "I knocked off the chains and made her a free woman." She is at times excited, but not violently. They are careful of her diet. They

keep her very clean. She calls them "father" and "mother." Go there now, and you will find her "clothed," and, though not perfectly in her "right mind," so far restored as to be a safe and comfortable inmate.

Newburyport. Visited the almshouse in June last. Eighty inmates. Seven insane, one idiotic. Commodious and neat house. Several of the partially insane apparently very comfortable. Two very improperly situated; namely, an insane man, not considered incurable, in an out-building, whose room opened upon what was called "the dead room," affording, in lieu of companionship with the living, a contemplation of corpses. The other subject was a woman in a *cellar*. I desired to see her. Much reluctance was shown. I pressed the request. The master of the house stated that she was *in the cellar*; that she was *dangerous to be approached*; that she had lately attacked his wife, and *was often naked*. I persisted, "If you will not go with me, give me the keys and I will go alone." Thus importuned, the outer doors were opened. I descended the stairs from within. A strange, unnatural noise seemed to proceed from beneath our feet. At the moment I did not much regard it. My conductor proceeded to remove a padlock, while my eye explored the wide space in quest of the poor woman. All for a moment was still. But judge my horror and amazement, when a door to a closet *beneath the staircase* was opened, revealing in the imperfect light a female apparently wasted to a skeleton, partially wrapped in blankets, furnished for the narrow bed on which she was sitting. Her countenance furrowed, not by age, but suffering, was the image of distress. In that contracted space, unlighted, unventilated, she poured forth the wailings of despair. Mournfully she extended her arms and appealed to me: "Why am I consigned to hell? dark—dark—I used to pray, I used to read the Bible—I have done no crime in my heart. I had friends. Why have all forsaken me!—my God, my God, why hast *thou* forsaken me!" Those groans, those wailings, come up daily, mingling with how many others, a perpetual and sad memorial. When the good Lord shall require an account of our stewardship, what shall all and each answer?

Perhaps it will be inquired how long, how many days or hours, was she imprisoned in these confined limits? *For years!* In another part of the cellar were other small closets, only better, because higher through the entire length, into one of which she

by turns was transferred, so as to afford opportunity for fresh whitewashing, etc.

Saugus. December 24. Thermometer below zero; drove to the poorhouse; was conducted to the master's family-room by himself; walls garnished with handcuffs and chains, not less than five pairs of the former; did not inquire how or on whom applied; thirteen pauper inmates; one insane man; one woman insane; one idiotic man; asked to see them; the two men were shortly led in; appeared pretty decent and comfortable. Requested to see the other insane subject; was denied decidedly; urged the request, and finally secured a reluctant assent. Was led through an outer passage into a lower room, occupied by the paupers; crowded; not neat; ascended a rather low flight of stairs upon an open entry, through the floor of which was introduced a stove-pipe, carried along a *few feet*, about six inches above the floor, through which it was reconveyed below. From this entry opens a room of moderate size, having a sashed window; floor, I think, painted; apartment *entirely* unfurnished; no chair, table, nor bed; neither, what is seldom missing, a bundle of straw or lock of hay; cold, very cold; the first movement of my conductor was to throw open a window, a measure imperatively necessary for those who entered. *On the floor* sat a woman, her limbs immovably contracted, so that the knees were brought upward to the chin; the face was concealed; the head rested on the folded arms. For clothing she appeared to have been furnished with *fragments* of many discharged garments. These were folded about her, yet they little benefited her, if one might judge by the constant shuddering which almost convulsed her poor crippled frame. Woful was this scene. Language is feeble to record the misery she was suffering and had suffered. In reply to my inquiry if she could not change her position, I was answered by the master in the negative, and told that the contraction of limbs was occasioned by "neglect and exposure in former years," but *since she had been crazy*, and before she fell under the charge, as I inferred, of her present *guardians*. Poor wretch! she, like many others, was an example of what humanity becomes when the temple of reason falls in ruins, leaving the mortal part to injury and neglect, and showing how much can be endured of privation, exposure, and disease without extinguishing the lamp of life.

Passing out, the man pointed to a something, revealed to more than one sense, which he called "her bed; and we throw

some blankets over her at night." Possibly this is done; others, like myself, might be pardoned a doubt if they could have seen all I saw and heard abroad all I heard. The *bed*, so called, was about *three* feet long, and from a half to three-quarters of a yard wide; of old ticking or tow cloth was the case; the contents might have been a *full handful* of hay or straw. My attendant's exclamations on my leaving the house were emphatic, and can hardly be repeated.

The above case recalls another of equal neglect or abuse. Asking my way to the almshouse in Berkeley, which had been repeatedly spoken of as greatly neglected, I was answered as to the direction, and informed that there were "plenty of insane people and idiots there." "Well taken care of?" "Oh, well enough for such sort of creatures!" "Any violently insane?" "Yes, my sister's son is there,—a real tiger. I kept him here at my house awhile, but it was too much trouble to go on: so I carried him there." "Is he comfortably provided for?" "Well enough." "Has he decent clothes?" "Good enough; wouldn't wear them if he had more." "Food?" "Good enough; good enough for him." "One more question,—has he the comfort of a fire?" "Fire! fire, indeed! what does a crazy man need of fire? Red-hot iron wants fire as much as he!" And such are sincerely the ideas of not a few persons in regard to the actual wants of the insane. Less regarded than the lowest brutes. No wonder they sink even lower.

Ipswich. Have visited the prison three several times; visited the almshouse once. In the latter are several cases of insanity; three especially distressing, situated in a miserable out-building, detached from the family-house, and confined in stalls or pens; three individuals, one of whom is apparently very insensible to the deplorable circumstances which surround him, and perhaps not likely to comprehend privations or benefits. Not so the person directly opposite to him, who looks up wildly, anxiously by turns, through those strong bars. Cheerless sight! strange companionship for the mind flitting and coming by turns to some perception of persons and things. He, too, is one of the returned incurables. His history is a sad one. I have not had all the particulars, but it shows distinctly what the most prosperous and affluent may come to be. I understand his connections are excellent and respectable; his natural abilities in youth were superior. He removed from Essex County to Albany, and was established there as the editor of a popular newspaper. In

course of time he was chosen a senator for that section of the State, and of course was [?] a judge in the Court of Errors.

Vicissitudes followed, and insanity closed the scene. He was conveyed to Worcester, after a considerable period, either to give place to some new patient or because the county objected to the continued expense, he, being declared incurable, was removed to Salem jail, thence to Ipswich jail; associated with the prisoners there, partaking the same food, and clad in like apparel. After a time the town complained of the expense of keeping him in jail. It was cheaper in the almshouse. To the almshouse he was conveyed, and there perhaps must abide. How sad a fate! I found him in a quiet state, though at times was told that he is greatly excited. What wonder, with such a companion before him, such cruel scenes within! I perceived in him some little confusion as I paused before the stall against the bars of which he was leaning. He was not so lost to propriety but that a little disorder of the bed-clothes, etc., embarrassed him. I passed on, but he asked, in a moment, earnestly, "Is the lady gone—gone quite away?" I returned. He gazed a moment without answering my inquiry if he wished to see me. "And have you, too, lost all your dear friends?" Perhaps my mourning apparel excited his inquiry. "Not all." "Have you any dear father and mother to love you?" and then he sighed and then laughed and traversed the limited stall. Immediately adjacent to this stall was one occupied by a *simple* girl, who was "put there to be out of harm's way." A cruel lot for this privation of a sound mind. A madman on the one hand, not so much separated as to secure decency; another almost opposite, and no screen. I do not know how it is argued that mad persons and idiots may be dealt with as if no spark of recollection ever lights up the mind. The observation and experience of those who have had charge of hospitals show opposite conclusions.

Violence and severity do but exasperate the insane: the only availing influence is kindness and firmness. It is amazing what these will produce. How many examples might illustrate this position! I refer to one recently exhibited in Barre. The town paupers are disposed of annually to some family who, for a stipulated sum, agree to take charge of them. One of them, a young woman, was shown to me well clothed, neat, quiet, and employed at needlework. Is it possible that this is the same being who, but last year, was a raving mad woman, exhibiting every degree of violence in action and speech; a very tigress

wrought to fury; caged, chained, beaten, loaded with injuries, and exhibiting the passions which an iron rule might be expected to stimulate and sustain. It is the same person. Another family hold her in charge who better understand human nature and human influences. She is no longer chained, caged, and beaten; but, if excited, a pair of mittens drawn over the hands secures from mischief. Where will she be next year after the annual sale?

It is not the insane subject alone who illustrates the power of the all-prevailing law of kindness. A poor idiotic young man, a year or two since, used to follow me at times through the prison as I was distributing books and papers. At first he appeared totally stupid, but cheerful expressions, a smile, a trifling gift, seemed gradually to light up the void temple of the intellect, and by slow degrees some faint images of thought passed before the mental vision. He would ask for books, though he could not read. I indulged his fancy, and he would appear to experience delight in examining them, and kept them with a singular care. If I read the Bible, he was reverently, wonderingly attentive; if I talked, he listened with a half-conscious aspect. One morning I passed more hurriedly than usual, and did not speak particularly to him. "Me, me, me a book." I returned. "Good morning, Jemmy: so you will have a book to-day? Well, keep it carefully." Suddenly turning aside, he took the bread brought for his breakfast, and, passing it with a hurried earnestness through the bars of his iron door, "Here's bread, ain't you hungry?" Never may I forget the tone and grateful affectionate aspect of that poor idiot. How much might we do to bring back or restore the mind if we but knew how to touch the instrument with a skilful hand!

My first visit to Ipswich prison was in March, 1842. The day was cold and stormy. The turnkey very obligingly conducted me through the various departments. Pausing before the iron door of a room in the jail, he said: "We have here a crazy man whose case seems hard; for he has sense enough to know he is in a prison and associated with prisoners. He was a physician in this county, and was educated at Cambridge, I believe. It was there or at one of the New England colleges. Should you like to see him?" I objected that it might be unwelcome to the sufferer, but, urged, went in. The apartment was very much out of order, neglected, and unclean. There was no fire. It had been forgotten amidst the press of other

duties. A man, a prisoner waiting trial, was sitting near a bed where the insane man lay, rolled in dirty blankets. The turnkey told him my name; and he broke forth into a most touching appeal that I would procure his liberation by prompt application to the highest State authorities. I soon retired, but communicated his condition to an official person before leaving the town, in the hope he might be rendered more comfortable. Shortly I received from this insane person, through my esteemed friend, Dr. Bell, several letters, from which I venture to make a few extracts. They are written from Ipswich, where is the general county receptacle for insane persons. I may remark that he has at different times been under skilful treatment, both at Charlestown and Worcester; but being, long since, pronounced incurable, and his property being expended, he became chargeable to the town or county, and was removed, first to Salem jail, thence to that at Ipswich by the desire of the high sheriff, who requested the commissioners to remove him to Ipswich as a more retired spot, where he would be less likely to cause disturbance. In his paroxysms of violence, his shouts and turbulence disturb a whole neighborhood. These still occur. I give the extracts literally: "Respected lady, since your heavenly visit my time has passed in perfect quietude, and for the last week I have been entirely alone. The room has been cleansed and whitewashed, and is now quite decent. I have read your books and papers with pleasure and profit, and retain them subject to your order. You say, in your note, others shall be sent if desired, and if any particular subject has interest it shall be procured. Your kindness is felt and highly appreciated," etc. In another letter he writes, "You express confidence that I have self-control and self-respect. I have, and, were I free and in good circumstances, could command as much as any man." In a third he says, "Your kind note, with more books and papers, were received on the 8th, and I immediately addressed to you letter superscribed to Dr. Bell; but, having discovered the letters on your seal, I suppose them the initials of your name, and now address you directly," etc.

The original letters may be seen. I have produced these extracts, and stated facts of personal history, in order that a judgment may be formed from few of many examples as to the justness of incarcerating lunatics in all and every stage of insanity, for an indefinite period or for life, in dreary prisons, and in connection with every class of criminals who may be lodged succes-

sively under the same roof, and in the same apartments. I have shown, from two examples, to what condition men may be brought, not through crime, but misfortune, and that misfortune embracing the heaviest calamity to which human nature is exposed. In the touching language of Scripture may these captives cry out: "Have pity upon me! Have pity upon me! for the hand of the Lord hath smitten me." "My kinsfolk have failed, and my own familiar friend hath forgotten me."

The last visit to the Ipswich prison was the third week in December. Twenty-two insane persons and idiots: general condition gradually improved within the last year. All suffer for want of air and exercise. The turnkey, while disposed to discharge kindly the duties of his office, is so crowded with business as to be positively unable to give any but the most general attention to the insane department. Some of the subjects are invariably confined in small dreary cells, insufficiently warmed and ventilated. Here one sees them traversing the narrow dens with ceaseless rapidity, or dashing from side to side like caged tigers, perfectly furious, through the invariable condition of unalleviated confinement. The case of one *simple* boy is peculiarly hard. Dec. 6, 1841, he was committed to the house of correction, East Cambridge, from Charlestown, as an *insane* or *idiotic* boy. He was unoffending, and competent to perform a variety of light labors under direction, and was often allowed a good deal of freedom in the open air. Sept. 6, 1842, he was directed to pull some weeds (which indulgence his harmless disposition permitted) without the prison walls, merely, I believe, for the sake of giving him a little employment. He escaped, it was thought, rather through sudden waywardness than any distinct purpose. From that time nothing was heard of him till in the latter part of December, while at Ipswich, in the common room, occupied by a portion of the lunatics not furiously mad, I heard some one say, "I know her, I know her," and with a joyous laugh John hastened toward me. "I'm so glad to see you, so glad to see you! I can't stay here long: I want to go out," etc. It seems he had wandered to Salem, and was committed as an insane or *idiot* boy. I cannot but assert that most of the idiotic subjects in the prisons in Massachusetts are unjustly committed, being wholly incapable of doing harm, and none manifesting any disposition either to injure others or to exercise mischievous propensities. I ask an investigation into this subject for the sake of many whose association with prisoners and

criminals, and also with persons in almost every stage of insanity, is as useless and unnecessary as it is cruel and ill-judged. If it were proper, I might place in your hands a volume, rather than give a page, illustrating these premises.

Sudbury. First week in September last I directed my way to the poor-farm there. Approaching, as I supposed, that place, all uncertainty vanished as to which, of several dwellings in view, the course should be directed. The terrible screams and imprecations, impure language and amazing blasphemies, of a maniac, now, as often heretofore, indicated the place sought after. I know not how to proceed. The English language affords no combinations fit for describing the condition of the unhappy wretch there confined. In a stall, built under a woodshed on the road, was a naked man, defiled with filth, furiously tossing through the bars and about the cage portions of straw (the only furnishing of his prison) already trampled to chaff. The mass of filth within diffused wide abroad the most noisome stench. I have never witnessed paroxysms of madness so appalling: it seemed as if the ancient doctrine of the possession of demons was here illustrated. I hastened to the house overwhelmed with horror. The mistress informed me that ten days since he had been brought from Worcester Hospital, where the town did not choose any longer to meet the expenses of maintaining him; that he had been "dreadful noisy and dangerous to go near" ever since. It was hard work to give him food at any rate; for what was not immediately dashed at those who carried it was cast down upon the festering mass within. "He's a dreadful care; worse than all the people and work on the farm beside." "Have you any other insane persons?" "Yes: this man's sister has been crazy here for several years. She does nothing but take on about him; and maybe she'll grow as bad as he." I went into the adjoining room to see this unhappy creature. In a low chair, wearing an air of deepest despondence, sat a female no longer young; her hair fell uncombed upon her shoulders; her whole air revealed woe, unmitigated woe. She regarded me coldly and uneasily. I spoke a few words of sympathy and kindness. She fixed her gaze for a few moments steadily upon me, then grasping my hand, and bursting into a passionate flood of tears, repeatedly kissed it, exclaiming in a voice broken by sobs: "Oh, my poor brother, my poor brother. Hark, hear him, hear him!" then, relapsing into apathetic calmness, she neither spoke nor moved; but the tears again flowed

fast as I went away. I avoided passing the maniac's cage; but there, with strange curiosity and eager exclamations, were gathered, at a safe distance, the children of the establishment, little boys and girls, receiving their early lessons in hardness of heart and vice; but the demoralizing influences were not confined to children.

The same day revealed two scenes of extreme exposure and unjustifiable neglect, such as I could not have supposed the whole New England States could furnish.

Wayland. Visited the almshouse. There, as in Sudbury, caged in a wood-shed, and also *fully exposed* upon the *public* road, was seen a man at that time less violent, but equally debased by exposure and irritation. He then wore a portion of clothing, though the mistress remarked that he was "more likely to be naked than not"; and added that he was "less noisy than usual." I spoke to him, but received no answer. A wild, strange gaze, and impatient movement of the hand, motioned us away. He refused to speak, rejected food, and wrapped over his head a torn coverlet. Want of accommodations for the imperative calls of nature had converted the cage into a place of utter offence. "My husband cleans him out once a week or so; but it's a hard matter to master him sometimes. He does better since the last time he was broken in." I learnt that the confinement and cold together had so affected his limbs that he was often powerless to rise. "You see him," said my conductress, "in his best state." *His best state!* What, then, was the *worst?*

Westford. Not many miles from Wayland is a sad spectacle; was told by the family who kept the poorhouse that they had twenty-six paupers, one idiot, one simple, and one insane, an incurable case from Worcester Hospital. I requested to see her, but was answered that she "wasn't fit to be seen. She was naked, and made so much trouble they did not know how to get along." I hesitated but a moment. I must see her, I said. I cannot adopt descriptions of the condition of the insane secondarily. What I assert for fact, I must see for myself. On this I was conducted above stairs into an apartment of decent size, pleasant aspect from abroad, and tolerably comfortable in its general appearance; but the inmates—grant I may never look upon another such scene! A young woman, whose person was partially covered with portions of a blanket, sat upon the floor; her hair dishevelled; her naked arms crossed

languidly over the breast; a distracted, unsteady eye and low, murmuring voice betraying both mental and physical disquiet. *About the waist was a chain*, the extremity of which was fastened into the wall of the house. As I entered, she raised her eyes, blushed, moved uneasily, endeavoring at the same time to draw about her the insufficient fragments of the blanket. I knelt beside her and asked if she did not wish to be dressed. "Yes, I want some clothes." "But you'll tear 'em all up, you know you will," interposed her attendant. "No, I won't, I won't tear them off"; and she tried to rise, but the waist-encircling chain threw her back, and she did not renew the effort, but, bursting into a wild, shrill laugh, pointed to it, exclaiming, "See there, see there, nice clothes!" Hot tears might not dissolve that iron bondage, imposed, to all appearance, most needlessly. As I left the room, the poor creature said, "I want my gown." The response from the attendant might have roused to indignation one not dispossessed of reason and owning self-control.

Groton. A few rods removed from the poorhouse is a wooden building upon the roadside, constructed of heavy board and plank. It contains one room, unfurnished, except so far as a bundle of straw constitutes furnishing. There is no window, save an opening half the size of a sash, and closed by a board shutter. In one corner is some brick-work surrounding an iron stove, which in cold weather serves for warming the room. The occupant of this dreary abode is a young man, who has been declared incurably insane. He can move a measured distance in his prison; that is, so far as a strong, heavy chain, depending from an *iron collar which invests his neck* permits. In fine weather—and it was pleasant when I was there in June last—the door is thrown open, at once giving admission to light and air, and affording some little variety to the solitary in watching the passers-by. But that portion of the year which allows of open doors is not the chiefest part; and it may be conceived, without drafting much on the imagination, what is the condition of one who for days and weeks and months sits in darkness and alone, without employment, without object. It may be supposed that paroxysms of frenzy are often exhibited, and that the tranquil state is rare in comparison with that which incites to violence. This, I was told, is the fact.

I may here remark that severe measures, in enforcing rule, have in many places been openly revealed. I have not seen chastisement administered by stripes, and in but few instances

have I seen the *rods* and *whips*, but I have seen blows inflicted, both passionately and repeatedly.

I have been asked if I have investigated the causes of insanity. I have not; but I have been told that this most calamitous overthrow of reason often is the result of a life of sin: it is sometimes, but rarely, added, they must take the consequences; they deserve no better care. Shall man be more just than God, he who causes his sun and refreshing rains and life-giving influence to fall alike on the good and the evil? Is not the total wreck of reason, a state of distraction, and the loss of all that makes life cherished a retribution sufficiently heavy, without adding to consequences so appalling every indignity that can bring still lower the wretched sufferer? Have pity upon those who, while they were supposed to lie hid in secret sins, "have been scattered under a *dark veil of forgetfulness*, over whom is spread a heavy night, and who unto themselves are more grievous than the darkness."

Fitchburg. In November visited the almshouse: inquired the number of insane. Was answered, several, but two in close confinement, one idiotic subject. Saw an insane woman in a dreary, neglected apartment, unemployed and alone. Idleness and solitude weaken, it is said, the sane mind; much more must it hasten the downfall of that which is already trembling at the foundations. From this apartment I was conducted to an out-building, a portion of which was enclosed, so as to unite shelter, confinement, and solitude. The first space was a sort of entry, in which was a window; beyond, a close partition with doors indicated where was the insane man I had wished to see. He had been returned from the hospital as incurable. I asked if he was violent or dangerous. "No." "Is he clothed?" "Yes." "Why keep him shut in this close confinement?" "Oh, my husband is afraid he'll run away; then the overseers won't like it. He'll get to Worcester, and then the town will have money to pay." "He must come out; I wish to see him." The opened door disclosed a squalid place, dark, and *furnished* with straw. The crazy man raised himself slowly from the floor upon which he was couched, and with unsteady steps came toward me. His look was feeble and sad, but calm and gentle.

"Give me those books, oh, give me those books," and with trembling eagerness he reached for some books I had carried in my hand. "Do give them to me, I want them," said he with kindling earnestness. "You could not use them, friend; you

cannot see them." "Oh, give them to me, do"; and he raised his hand and bent a little forward, lowering his voice, "*I'll pick a little hole in the plank and let in some of God's light.*"

The master came round. "Why cannot you take this man abroad to work on the farm? He is harmless. Air and exercise will help to recover him." The answer was in substance the same as that first given; but he added, "I've been talking with our overseers, and I proposed getting from the blacksmith an iron collar and chain, then I can have him out by the house." An iron collar and chain! "Yes, I had a cousin up in Vermont, crazy as a wildcat, and I got a collar made for him, *and he liked it.*" "Liked it! how did he manifest his pleasure?" "Why, he left off trying to run away. I kept the almshouse at Groton. There was a man there from the hospital. I built an out-house for him, and the blacksmith made him an iron collar and chain, so we had him fast, and the overseers approved it, and"— I here interrupted him. "I have seen that poor creature at Groton in his doubly iron bondage, and you must allow me to say that, as I understand you remain but one year in the same place, and you may find insane subjects in all, I am confident, if overseers permit such a multiplication of collars and chains, the public will not long sanction such barbarities; but, if you had at Groton any argument for this measure in the violent state of the unfortunate subject, how can you justify such treatment of a person quiet and not dangerous, as is this poor man? I beg you to forbear the chains, and treat him as you yourself would like to be treated in like fallen circumstances."

Bolton. Late in December, 1842; thermometer 4° above zero; visited the almshouse; neat and comfortable establishment; two insane women, one in the house associated with the family, the other "*out of doors.*" The day following was expected a young man from Worcester Hospital, incurably insane. Fears were expressed of finding him "*dreadful hard to manage.*" I asked to see the subject who was "*out of doors*"; and, following the mistress of the house through the deep snow, shuddering and benumbed by the piercing cold, several hundred yards, we came in rear of the barn to a small building, which might have afforded a degree of comfortable shelter, but it did not. About two-thirds of the interior was filled with wood and peat. The other third was divided into two parts; one about six feet square contained a cylinder stove, in which was no fire, the rusty pipe seeming to threaten, in its decay, either suffocation by smoke,

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which by and by we nearly realized, or conflagration of the building, together with destruction of its poor crazy inmate. My companion uttered an exclamation at finding no fire, and busied herself to light one; while I explored, as the deficient light permitted, the cage which occupied the undescribed portion of the building. "Oh, I'm so cold, so cold," was uttered in plaintive tones by a woman within the cage; "oh, so cold, so cold!" And well might she be cold. The stout, hardy driver of the sleigh had declared 'twas too hard for a man to stand the wind and snow that day, yet here was a woman caged and imprisoned without fire or clothes, not naked, indeed, for one thin cotton garment partly covered her, and part of a blanket was gathered about the shoulders. There she stood, shivering in that dreary place; the gray locks falling in disorder about the face gave a wild expression to the pallid features. Untended and comfortless, she might call aloud, none could hear. She might die, and there be none to close the eye. But death would have been a blessing here. "Well, you shall have a fire, Axey. I've been so busy getting ready for the funeral!" One of the paupers lay dead. "Oh, I want some clothes," rejoined the lunatic; "I'm so cold." "Well, Axey, you shall have some as soon as the children come from school; I've had so much to do." "I want to go out, do let me out!" "Yes, as soon as I get time," answered the respondent. "Why do you keep her here?" I asked. "She appears harmless and quiet." "Well, I mean to take her up to the house pretty soon. The people that used to have care here kept her shut up all the year; but it *is* cold here, and we take her to the house in hard weather. The only danger is her running away. I've been meaning to this good while." The poor creature listened eagerly: "Oh, I won't run away. Do take me out!" "Well, I will in a few days." Now the smoke from the kindling fire became so dense that a new anxiety struck the captive. "Oh, I shall smother, I'm afraid. Don't fill that up, I'm afraid." Pretty soon I moved to go away. "Stop, did you walk?" "No." "Did you ride?" "Yes." "Do take me with you, do, I'm so cold. Do you know my sisters? They live in this town. I want to see them so much. Do let me go"; and, shivering with eagerness to get out, as with the biting cold, she rapidly tried the bars of the cage.

The mistress seemed a kind person. Her tones and manner to the lunatic were kind; but how difficult to unite all the cares of her household, and neglect none! Here was not wilful abuse,

but great, very great suffering through undesigned negligence. We need an asylum for this class, the incurable, where conflicting duties shall not admit of such examples of privations and misery.

One is continually amazed at the tenacity of life in these persons. In conditions that wring the heart to behold, it is hard to comprehend that days rather than years should not conclude the measure of their griefs and miseries. Picture her condition! Place yourselves in that dreary cage, remote from the inhabited dwelling, alone by day and by night, without fire, without clothes, *except when remembered*; without object or employment; weeks and months passing on in drear succession, not a blank, but with keen life to suffering; with kindred, but deserted by them; and you shall not lose the memory of that time when they loved you, and you in turn loved them, but now no act or voice of kindness makes sunshine in the heart. Has fancy realized this to you? It *may* be the state of some of those you cherish! Who shall be sure his own hearthstone shall not be so desolate? Nay, who shall say his own mountain stands strong, his lamp of reason shall not go out in darkness! To how many has this become a heart-rending reality. If for selfish ends only, should not effectual legislation here interpose?

Shelburne. November last. I found no poorhouse, and but few paupers. These were distributed in private families. I had heard, before visiting this place, of the bad condition of a lunatic pauper. The case seemed to be pretty well known throughout the county. Receiving a direction by which I might find him, I reached a house of most respectable appearance, everything without and within indicating abundance and prosperity. Concluding I must have mistaken my way, I prudently inquired where the insane person might be found. I was readily answered, "Here." I desired to see him; and, after some difficulties raised and set aside, I was conducted into the yard, where was a small building of rough boards imperfectly joined. Through these crevices was admitted what portion of heaven's light and air was allowed by man to his fellow-man. This shanty or shell enclosing a cage might have been eight or ten feet square. I think it did not exceed. A narrow passage within allowed to pass in front of the cage. It was very cold. The air within was burdened with the most noisome vapors, and desolation with misery seemed here to have settled their abode. All was still, save now and then a low groan. The person who conducted

me tried, with a stick, to rouse the inmate. I entreated her to desist, the twilight of the place making it difficult to discern anything within the cage. There at last I saw a human being, partially extended, cast upon his back, amidst a mass of filth, the sole furnishing, whether for comfort or necessity, which the place afforded. There he lay, ghastly, with upturned, glazed eyes and fixed gaze, heavy breathings, interrupted only by faint groans, which seemed symptomatic of an approaching termination of his sufferings. Not so thought the mistress. "He has all sorts of ways. He'll soon rouse up and be noisy enough. He'll scream and beat about the place like any wild beast half the time." "And cannot you make him more comfortable? Can he not have some clean, dry place and a fire?" "As for clean, it will do no good. He's cleaned out now and then; but what's the use for such a creature? His own brother tried him once, but got sick enough of the bargain." "But a fire: there is space even here for a small box stove." "If he had a fire, he'd only pull off his clothes, so it's no use." "But you say your husband takes care of him, and he is shut in here in almost total darkness, so that seems a less evil than that he should lie there to perish in that horrible condition." I made no impression. It was plain that to keep him securely confined from escape was the chief object. "How do you give him his food? I see no means for introducing anything here." "Oh," pointing to the floor, "one of the bars is cut shorter there: we push it through there." "There? Impossible! You cannot do that. You would not treat your lowest dumb animals with that disregard to decency!" "As for what he eats or where he eats, it makes no difference to him. He'd as soon swallow one thing as another."

Newton. It was a cold morning in October last that I visited the almshouse. The building itself is ill-adapted for the purposes to which it is appropriated. The town, I understand, have in consideration a more advantageous location, and propose to erect more commodious dwellings. The mistress of the house informed me that they had several insane inmates, some of them very bad. In reply to my request to see them she objected "that they were not fit; they were not cleaned; that they were very crazy," etc. Urging my request more decidedly, she said they should be got ready if I would wait. Still no order was given which would hasten my object. I resumed the subject, when, with manifest unwillingness, she called to a colored man, a cripple, who, with several others of the poor,

was employed in the yard, to go and get a woman up, naming her. I waited some time at the kitchen door to see what all this was to produce. The man slowly proceeded to the remote part of the wood-shed where, part being divided from the open space, were two small rooms, in the outer of which he slept and lived, as I understood. There was his furniture, and there his charge. Opening into this room only was the second, which was occupied by a woman, not old, and furiously mad. It contained a wooden bunk filled with filthy straw, the room itself a counterpart to the lodging-place. Inexpressibly disgusting and loathsome was all; but the inmate herself was even more horribly repelling. She rushed out, as far as the chains would allow, almost in a state of nudity, exposed to a dozen persons, and vociferating at the top of her voice, pouring forth such a flood of indecent language as might corrupt even Newgate. I entreated the man, who was still there, to go out and close the door. He refused. That was *his place!* Sick, horror-struck, and almost incapable of retreating, I gained the outer air, and hastened to see the other subject, to remove from a scene so outraging all decency and humanity. In the apartment over that last described was a crazy man, I was told. I ascended the stairs in the woodshed, and, passing through a small room, stood at the entrance of the one occupied,—occupied with what? The furniture was a wooden box or bunk containing straw, and something I was told was a man,—I could not tell, as likely it might have been a wild animal,—half-buried in the offensive mass that made his bed, his countenance concealed by long, tangled hair and unshorn beard. He lay sleeping. Filth, neglect, and misery reigned there. I begged he might not be roused. If sleep could visit a wretch so forlorn, how merciless to break the slumber! Protruding from the foot of the box was—nay, it could not be the feet; yet from these stumps, these maimed members, were swinging chains, fastened to the side of the building. I descended. The master of the house briefly stated the history of these two victims of wretchedness. The old man had been crazy about twenty years. As, till within a late period, the town had owned no farm for the poor, this man, with others, had been annually put up at auction. I hope there is nothing offensive in the idea of these *annual sales* of old men and women,—the sick, the infirm, and the helpless, the middle-aged, and children. Why should we not *sell* people as well as otherwise blot out human rights: it is only being *consistent*, surely not worse

than chaining and caging naked lunatics upon public roads or burying them in closets and cellars! But, as I was saying, the crazy man was annually sold to some new master; and a few winters since, being kept in an out-house, the people within, being warmed and clothed, "did not reckon how cold it was"; and so his feet froze. Were chains now the more necessary? He cannot run. But he might *crawl* forth, and in his transports of frenzy "do some damage."

That young woman,—her lot is most appalling. Who shall dare describe it? Who shall have courage or hardihood to write her history? That young woman was the child of respectable, hard-working parents. The girl became insane. The father, a farmer, with small means from a narrow income had placed her at the State Hospital. There, said my informer, she remained as long as he could by any means pay her expenses. Then, then only, he resigned her to the care of the town, to those who are, in the eye of the law, the guardians of the poor and needy. She was placed with the other town paupers, and given in charge to a man. I assert boldly, as truly, that I have given but a *faint representation* of what she was, and what was her condition as I saw her last autumn. Written language is weak to declare it.

Could we in fancy place ourselves in the situation of some of these poor wretches, bereft of reason, deserted of friends, hopeless, troubles without, and more dreary troubles within, overwhelming the wreck of the mind as "a wide breaking in of the waters,"—how should we, as the terrible illusion was cast off, not only offer the thank-offering of prayer, that so mighty a destruction had not overwhelmed our mental nature, but as an offering more acceptable devote ourselves to alleviate that state from which we are so mercifully spared?

It may not appear much more credible than the fact above stated, that a few months since a young woman in a state of complete insanity was confined entirely naked in a pen or stall in a barn. There, unfurnished with clothes, without bed and without fire, she was left—but not alone. Profligate men and idle boys had access to the den, whenever curiosity or vulgarity prompted. She is now removed into the house with other paupers; and for this humanizing benefit she was indebted to the remonstrances, in the first instance, of *an insane man*.

Another town now owns a poorhouse, which I visited, and am glad to testify to the present comfortable state of the inmates;

but there the only provision the house affords for an insane person, should one, as is not improbable, be conveyed there, is a closet in the cellar, formed by the arch upon which the chimney rests. This has a close door, not only securing the prisoners, but excluding what of light and pure air might else find admission.

Abuses assuredly cannot always or altogether be guarded against; but, if in the civil and social relations all shall have "done what they could," no ampler justification will be demanded at the great tribunal.

Of the dangers and mischiefs sometimes following the location of insane persons in our almshouses, I will record but one more example. In Worcester has for several years resided a young woman, a lunatic pauper of decent life and respectable family. I have seen her as she usually appeared, listless and silent, almost or quite sunk into a state of dementia, sitting one amidst the family, "but not of them." A few weeks since, revisiting that almshouse, judge my horror and amazement to see her negligently bearing in her arms a young infant, of which I was told she was the unconscious parent. Who was the father, none could or would declare. Disqualified for the performance of maternal cares and duties, regarding the helpless little creature with a perplexed or indifferent gaze, she sat a silent, but, oh, how eloquent, a pleader for the protection of others of her neglected and outraged sex! Details of that black story would not strengthen the cause. Needs it a mightier plea than the sight of that forlorn creature and her wailing infant? Poor little child, more than orphan from birth, in this unfriendly world! A demented mother, a father on whom the sun might blush or refuse to shine!

Men of Massachusetts, I beg, I implore, I demand pity and protection for these of my suffering, outraged sex. Fathers, husbands, brothers, I would supplicate you for this boon; but what do I say? I dishonor you, divest you at once of Christianity and humanity, does this appeal imply distrust. If it comes burdened with a doubt of your righteousness in this legislation, then blot it out; while I declare confidence in your honor, not less than your humanity. Here you will put away the cold, calculating spirit of selfishness and self-seeking; lay off the armor of local strife and political opposition; here and now, for once, forgetful of the earthly and perishable, come up to these halls and consecrate them with one heart and one

mind to works of righteousness and just judgment. Become the benefactors of your race, the just guardians of the solemn rights you hold in trust. Raise up the fallen, succor the desolate, restore the outcast, defend the helpless, and for your eternal and great reward receive the benediction, "Well done, good and faithful servants, become rulers over many things!"

But, gentlemen, I do not come to quicken your sensibilities into short-lived action, to pour forth passionate exclamation, nor yet to move your indignation against those whose misfortune, not fault, it surely is to hold in charge these poor demented creatures, and whose whole of domestic economy or prison discipline is absolutely overthrown by such proximity of conflicting circumstances and opposite conditions of mind and character. Allow me to illustrate this position by a few examples: it were easy to produce hundreds.

The master of one of the best-regulated almshouses, namely, that of Plymouth, where every arrangement shows that the comfort of the sick, the aged, and the infirm, is suitably cared for, and the amendment of the unworthy is studied and advanced, said, as we stood opposite a latticed stall where was confined a madman, that the hours of the day were few when the whole household was not distracted from employment by screams and turbulent stampings, and every form of violence which the voice or muscular force could produce. This unfortunate being was one of the "returned incurables," since whose last admission to the almshouse they were no longer secure of peace for the aged or decency for the young. It was morally impossible to do justice to the sane and insane in such improper vicinity to each other. The conviction is continually deepened that hospitals are the only places where insane persons can be at once humanely and properly controlled. Poorhouses converted into madhouses cease to effect the purposes for which they were established, and instead of being asylums for the aged, the homeless, and the friendless, and places of refuge for orphaned or neglected childhood, are transformed into perpetual bedlams.

This crying evil and abuse of institutions is not confined to our almshouses. The warden of a populous prison near this metropolis, populous not with criminals only, but with the insane in almost every stage of insanity, and the idiotic in descending states from silly and simple, to helpless and speechless, has declared that, since their admission under the Revised Statutes of 1835, page 382, "the prison has often more resembled the in-

ternal regions than any place on earth!" And, what with the excitement inevitably produced by the crowded state of the prisons and multiplying causes, not subject to much modification, there has been neither peace nor order one hour of the twenty-four. If ten were quiet, the residue were probably raving. Almost without interval might, and *must*, these be heard, blaspheming and furious, and to the last degree impure and indecent, uttering language from which the base and the profligate have turned shuddering aside and the abandoned have shrunk abashed. I myself, with many beside, can bear sad witness to these things.

Such cases of transcendent madness have not been few in this prison. Admission for a portion of them, not already having been discharged as incurable from the State Hospital, has been sought with importunity and pressed with obstinate perseverance, often without success or advantage; and it has not been till application has followed application, and petition succeeded petition, that the judge of probate, absolutely wearied by the "continual coming," has sometimes granted warrants for removal. It cannot be overlooked that in this delay or refusal was more of just deliberation than hardness; for it is well known that, in the present crowded state of the hospital, every new patient displaces one who has for a longer or a shorter time received the benefit of that noble institution.

A few months since, through exceeding effort, an inmate of this prison, whose contaminating influence for two years had been the dread and curse of all persons who came within her sphere, whether incidentally or compelled by imprisonment, or by daily duty, was removed to Worcester. She had set at defiance all efforts for controlling the contaminating violence of her excited passions; every variety of blasphemous expression, every form of polluting phraseology, was poured forth in torrents, sweeping away every decent thought, and giving reality to that blackness of darkness which, it is said, might convert a heaven into a hell. There, day after day, month after month, were the warden and his own immediate household; the subordinate officials, and casual visitors; young women detained as witnesses; men, women, and children, waiting trial or under sentence; debtors and criminals; the neighborhood, and almost the whole town, subjected to this monstrous offence—and *no help!* the *law* permitted her there, and there she remained till July last, when, after an application to the judge so determined

that all refusal was refused, a warrant was granted for her transfer to the State Hospital. I saw her there two weeks since. What a change! Decent, orderly, neatly dressed, capable of light employment, partaking with others her daily meals. Decorously, and without any manifestation of passion, moving about, not a rational woman by any means, but no longer a nuisance, rending off her garments and tainting the moral atmosphere with every pollution, she exhibited how much could be done for the most unsettled and apparently the most hopeless cases by being placed in a situation adapted to the wants and necessities of her condition. Transformed from a very Tisiphone, she is now a controllable woman. But this most wonderful change may not be lasting. She is liable to be returned to the prison, as have been others, and then no question but in a short time like scenes will distract and torment all in a vicinity so much to be dreaded.

Already has been transferred from Worcester to Concord a furious man, last July conveyed to the hospital from Cambridge, whose violence is second only to that of the subject above described. While our *Revised Statutes* permit the incarceration of madmen and madwomen, epileptics and idiots, in prisons, all responsible officers should, in ordinary justice, be exonerated from obligation to maintain prison discipline. And the fact is conclusive, if the injustice to prison officers is great, it is equally great toward prisoners; an additional penalty to a legal sentence pronounced in a court of justice, which might, we should think, in all the prisons we have visited, serve as a sound plea for false imprisonment. If reform is intended to be united with punishment, there never was a greater absurdity than to look for moral restoration under such circumstances; and, if that is left out of view, we know no rendering of the law which sanctions such a cruel and oppressive aggravation of the circumstances of imprisonment as to expose these prisoners day and night to the indescribable horrors of such association.

The greatest evils in regard to the insane and idiots in the prisons of this Commonwealth are found at Ipswich and Cambridge, and distinguish these places only, as I believe, because the numbers are larger, being more than twenty in each. Ipswich has the advantage over Cambridge in having fewer furious subjects, and in the construction of the buildings, though these are so bad as to have afforded cause for presentment by the grand jury some time since. It is said that the new County House, in progress of building, will meet the exigencies of the case.

If it is meant that the wing in the new prison, to be appropriated to the insane, will provide accommodation for all the insane and idiotic paupers in the county, I can only say that it could receive no more than can be gathered in the three towns of Salem, Newburyport, and Ipswich, supposing these are to be removed, there being in Ipswich twenty-two in the prison and eight in the almshouse; in Salem almshouse, seventeen uniformly crazy, and two part of the time deranged; and in that of Newburyport eleven, including idiots. Here at once are sixty. The returns of 1842 exhibit an aggregate of one hundred and thirty-five. Provision is made in the new prison for fifty-seven of this class, leaving seventy-eight unprovided for, except in the almshouses. From such a fate, so far as Danvers, Saugus, East Bradford, and some other towns in the county reveal conditions of insane subjects, we pray they may be exempt.

I have the verbal and written testimony of many officers of this Commonwealth, who are respectable alike for their integrity and the fidelity with which they discharge their official duties, and whose opinions, based on experience, are entitled to consideration, that the occupation of prisons for the detention of lunatics and of idiots is, under all circumstances, an evil, subversive alike of good order, strict discipline, and good morals. I transcribe a few passages which will place this mischief in its true light. The sheriff of Plymouth County writes as follows: "I am decidedly of the opinion that the county jail is a very improper place for lunatics and idiots. The last summer its bad effects were fully realized here, not only by the prisoners in jail, but the disturbance extended to the inhabitants dwelling in the neighborhood. A foreigner was sentenced by a justice of the peace to thirty days' confinement in the house of correction. He was to all appearance a lunatic or madman. He destroyed every article in his room, even to his wearing apparel, his noise and disturbance was incessant for hours, day and night. I consider prisons places for the safe keeping of prisoners, and all these are equally entitled to humane treatment from their keepers, without regard to the cause of commitment. We have in jails no conveniences to make the situation of lunatics and idiots much more decent than would be necessary for the brute creation, and impossible to prevent the disturbance of the inmates under the same roof."

In relation to the confinement of the insane in prisons the sheriff of Hampshire County writes as follows:—

“I concur fully in the sentiments entertained by you in relation to this unwise, not to say inhuman, provision of our law (see Rev. Stat. 382) authorizing the commitment of lunatics to our jails and houses of correction. Our jails preclude occupation, and our houses of correction cannot admit of that variety of pursuit, and its requisite supervision, so indispensable to these unfortunates. Indeed, this feature of our law seems to me a relic of that ancient barbarism which regarded misfortune as a crime, and those bereft of reason as also bereft of all sensibility, as having forfeited not only all title to compassion, but to *humanity*, and consigned them without a tear of sympathy, or twinge of remorse, or even a suspicion of injustice, to the companionship of the vicious, the custody of the coarse and ignorant, and the horrors of the hopeless dungeon. I cannot persuade myself that anything more than a motion by any member of our Legislature is necessary to effect an immediate repeal of this odious provision.”

The sheriff of Berkshire says, conclusively, that “jails and houses of correction *cannot* be so managed as to render them suitable places of confinement for that unfortunate class of persons who are the subjects of your inquiries, and who, never having violated the law, should not be ranked with felons or confined within the same walls with them. Jailers and overseers of houses of correction, whenever well qualified for the management of criminals, do not usually possess those peculiar qualifications required in those to whom should be intrusted the care of lunatics.”

A letter from the surgeon and physician of the Prison Hospital at Cambridge, whose observation and experience have laid the foundation of his opinions, and who hence has a title to speak with authority, affords the following views: “On this subject, it seems to me, there can be but one opinion. No one can be more impressed than I am with the great injustice done to the insane by confining them in jails and houses of correction. It must be revolting to the better feelings of every one to see the innocent and unfortunate insane occupying apartments with or consigned to those occupied by the criminal. Some of the insane are conscious of the circumstances in which they are placed, and feel the degradation. They exclaim sometimes in their ravings, and sometimes in their lucid intervals, “What have *I* done that I must be shut up in jail?” and “Why do you not let me out?” This state of things unquestionably retards the recovery of the few who do recover their reason under such circumstances, and

may render those permanently insane who under other circumstances might have been restored to their right mind. There is also in our jails very little opportunity for the classification of the insane. The quiet and orderly must in many cases occupy the same rooms with the restless and noisy,—another great hindrance to recovery.

“*Injustice* is also done to the *convicts*: it is certainly very wrong that they should be doomed day after day and night after night to listen to the ravings of madmen and madwomen. This is a kind of punishment that is not recognized by our statutes, and is what the criminal ought not to be called upon to undergo. The confinement of the criminal and of the insane in the same building is subversive of that good order and discipline which should be observed in every well-regulated prison. I do most sincerely hope that more permanent provision will be made for the pauper insane by the State, either to restore Worcester Insane Asylum to what it was originally designed to be or else make some just appropriation for the benefit of this very unfortunate class of our ‘fellow-beings.’”

From the efficient sheriff of Middlesex County I have a letter upon this subject, from which I make such extracts as my limits permit: “I do not consider it right, just, or humane, to hold for safe keeping, in the county jails and houses of correction, persons classing as lunatics or idiots. Our prisons are not constructed with a view to the proper accommodation of this class of persons. Their interior arrangements are such as to render it very difficult, if not impossible, to extend to such persons that care and constant oversight which their peculiarly unfortunate condition absolutely demands; and, besides, the occupation of prisons for lunatics is unquestionably subversive of discipline, comfort, and good order. Prisoners are thereby subjected to unjust aggravation of necessary confinement by being exposed to an almost constant disquiet from the restless or raving lunatic. You inquire whether ‘it may not justly be said that the qualifications for wardenship, or for the offices of overseer, do not usually embrace qualifications for the management of lunatics, whether regarded as curable or incurably lost to reason,’ and also whether ‘the government of jails and houses of correction for the detention or punishment of offenders and criminals can suitably be united with the government and discipline fitted for the most unfortunate and friendless of the human race; namely, pauper lunatics and idiots, a class not condemned

by the laws, and I must add not mercifully protected by them.' The first of the preceding questions I answer in the *affirmative*, the last *negatively*." [Here follow similar testimonies from the warden of the Cambridge prison, the sheriff of Dukes County, the warden of the prison at South Boston, and the master of the Plymouth almshouse.]

It is not few, but many, it is not a part, but the whole, who bear unqualified testimony to this evil. A voice strong and deep comes up from every almshouse and prison in Massachusetts where the insane are or have been protesting against such evils as have been illustrated in the preceding pages.

Gentlemen, I commit to you this sacred cause. Your action upon this subject will affect the present and future condition of hundreds and of thousands.

In this legislation, as in all things, may you exercise that "wisdom which is the breath of the power of God."

Respectfully submitted,

D. L. DIX.

85 MT. VERNON STREET, BOSTON.

January, 1843.

Few lives have been more heroic or more fruitful in the achievement of beneficent results than that of Dorothea Dix. Few things in the history of reform offer such encouragement as the comparison of the evils which she found and exposed in a State like Massachusetts only two generations ago and the condition of the care of the criminal and defective classes by the State to-day. With the terrible evils which yet remain, the progress in this field in America and Europe has been immense. The picture given in the accompanying Memorial of 1843 helps us in some measure to estimate how great is the advance.

Dorothea Lynde Dix was born in Hampden, Me., in 1802; but her childhood was largely passed in Worcester and Boston, Mass. When only fourteen, she opened a school for little children in Worcester. Afterwards she taught in Boston, and in the summer of 1827, and afterwards, had charge in Boston and at Newport of the education of the children of Dr. Channing, whose friendship became one of her chief supports. She accompanied Dr. Channing's household for a winter in the West Indies. In 1836, broken down by too strenuous school work, she went to England, remaining chiefly at Liverpool for eighteen months, when she returned to Boston.

In the spring of 1841 Miss Dix had her sympathy aroused by accounts of the hardships and sufferings of the women in the East Cambridge House of Correction, and she at once volunteered to go regularly on Sundays to give them instruction. Among the prisoners she found a few insane persons, in a cold room with no stove; and, after the jailer's refusal to provide a fire, she appealed to the Court, then in session at East Cambridge, and her request was granted. "It was thus that in the East Cambridge jail Miss Dix was first brought into immediate contact with the overcrowding, filth, and herding together of the innocent, guilty, and insane persons, which at that time characterized the prisons of Massachusetts, and the inevitable evils of which were repeated in even worse shape in the almshouses." She succeeded in enlisting the aid of Rev. Robert C. Waterston, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, and Charles Sumner. Dr. Howe made a careful examination, and published his results in the *Boston Advertiser*. His article was fiercely attacked, but Charles Sumner wrote, "Your article presents a true picture," adding corroborative details of his own investigations. "Was the state of things in the East Cambridge jail an exception, or did it simply exemplify the rule throughout the whole Commonwealth? This was the painful question now raised in the mind of Miss Dix, to an unmistakable answer to which she resolutely devoted the next two years, visiting every jail and almshouse from Berkshire to Cape Cod." It was the results of these investigations which she embodied in the Memorial to

the Massachusetts Legislature, in January, 1843, reprinted in the present leaflet,—a Memorial dated, it will be noted, at No. 85 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, the home of Dr. Channing. The Memorial produced a profound sensation. Humane people pronounced it incredible, and officials denounced it as "sensational and slanderous lies." The controversy in the newspapers and elsewhere was hot and bitter; but the arraignment stood. Dr. Channing, Horace Mann, John G. Palfrey, and Dr. Luther V. Bell of the McLean Asylum rallied to her side. The Legislature referred her Memorial to a committee, of which Dr. Samuel G. Howe was appointed chairman, and which made a report strongly indorsing Miss Dix's statements and fortifying them with other instances of similar outrages on humanity. A bill for immediate relief was carried by a large majority, and the order passed for providing accommodations at Worcester for two hundred additional insane persons.

Experiences in Rhode Island and Connecticut convinced Miss Dix that all over the United States existed conditions as bad as she had found in Massachusetts, or worse. "Now first broke upon her the length and breadth of the mission to which she felt herself divinely called. Resolutely and untiringly, State by State, would she take up the work, first exhaustively accumulating the facts, and then besieging the various legislatures till they should capitulate to the cry of the perishing within their borders."

The story of her lifetime of almost incredible labors and accomplishments, in a score of our own States, in Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, in England and Scotland, in the Channel Islands, and on the Continent of Europe, is told by Rev. Francis Tiffany in his "Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix," to which the student is referred. As Mr. Tiffany justly says, "the repetition of her achievements year by year, the enormous sums of money they involved, the magnitude of the structures they led to the building of, the range of the field they opened out to advancing medical science, and the vast numbers of poor wretches transferred from stalls and chains to a comparative heaven of asylum comfort, fairly startle the imagination." She obtained "larger appropriations for purely benevolent purposes than probably it was ever given to any other mortal in the old world or the new to raise."

During the Civil War she was Superintendent of Women Nurses for the Union armies. The flags presented her by the War Department in recognition of her services now hang in the Memorial Hall at Harvard University. She raised the money for the monument to the fallen soldiers in the National Cemetery at Hampton, Va. "The first object visible over the low level of the peninsula to vessels coming in from sea to the Roads, it stands the reverential tribute of a heroic woman to the heroic men she honored with all her soul." After the war she took up once again her old prison and asylum work. Two asylums in Japan were added to the thirty-two she had already been the instrument of founding or greatly enlarging. She was accustomed to mark each one on a map with the sign of the cross. After the great Chicago fire of 1871 and the Boston fire of 1872, she was active in those places in the relief of suffering. To animals as well as men her sympathy went out. She projected a drinking-fountain in a crowded part of Boston, where she had noticed the hard labor of the horses; and Whittier wrote this inscription:

"Stranger and traveller,
 Drink freely and bestow
 A kindly thought on her
 Who bade this fountain flow,
 Yet hath for it no claim
 Save as the minister
 Of blessing in God's name."

She died in 1887, at the State Asylum, Trenton, N. J., which she had founded, and was buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery, near Boston.

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The Founding of the Hampton Institute.

BY GENERAL SAMUEL C. ARMSTRONG.

FROM THE CHAPTER PREPARED BY GENERAL ARMSTRONG IN 1890
FOR THE VOLUME "TWENTY-TWO YEARS' WORK OF THE HAMP-
TON INSTITUTE."

It meant something to the Hampton School, and perhaps to the ex-slaves of America, that from 1820 to 1860, the distinctively missionary period, there was worked out in the Hawaiian Islands the problem of the emancipation, enfranchisement, and Christian civilization of a dark-skinned Polynesian people in many respects like the negro race.

From 1831 my parents, Richard Armstrong, of Pennsylvania, and Clarissa Chapman, of Massachusetts, were missionaries, till my father's appointment, in 1847, as Minister of Public Instruction, when he took charge of, and in part built up, the five hundred Hawaiian free schools and some of the higher educational work, until his death in 1860.

Born there in 1839, and leaving the country in 1860 to complete my education under Dr. Mark Hopkins at Williams College, Mass., I had distinct impressions of the people, of the work for them and its results. Let me say here that whatever good teaching I may have done has been Mark Hopkins teaching through me.

On horseback and canoe tours with my father and alone, around those grandly picturesque volcanic islands, inspecting schools and living much among the natives (then generally Christianized), I noticed how easily the children learned from books,

how universally the people attended church and had family prayers; were always charmingly hospitable, and yet lived pretty much in the old ways,—all in one room, including the stranger within their gates, who usually had, however, the benefit of the raised end and a curtain. They seemed to have accepted, but not to have fully adopted, Christianity; for they did not have the conditions of living which make high standards of morality possible. While far above the plane of heathenism, most of its low and cruel practices having disappeared, and while they were simple and sincere believers, contributing of their substance to the churches more, in proportion, than any American community of which I now know, they could not, under the circumstances, keep up to a high level of conduct. The “old man” in them had pretty much his own way. They were like the people to whom the epistles of the New Testament were written; they were grown-up children. To preach the gospel rather than to organize living was the missionary idea. Devoted women visited the houses, and practical morality was thundered from the pulpit. “Let him that stole steal no more,” or the like, was the daily precept, followed by severe church discipline; but houses without partitions, and easy-going tropical ways, after generations of licentious life, made virtue scarce. They were not hypocrites, and, from their starting-point, had made a great advance. “Our saints are about up to your respectable sinners,” said a returned missionary.

Illustrating two lines of educational work among them were two institutions: the Lahaina-luna (government) Seminary for young men, where, with manual labor, mathematics and other higher branches were taught; and the Hilo Boarding and Manual Labor (missionary) School for boys, on a simpler basis, under the devoted David B. Lyman and his wife. As a rule, the former turned out more brilliant, the latter less advanced but more solid men. In making the plan of the Hampton Institute, that of the Hilo School seemed the best to follow. Mr. Lyman's boys had become among the best teachers and workers for their people; while graduates of the higher school, though many had done nobly at home and in foreign fields, had frequently been disappointing. Hence came our policy of teaching only English and our system of industrial training at Hampton. Its graduates are not only to be good teachers, but skilled workers, able to build homes and earn a living for themselves and encourage others to do the same.

Two and a half years' service with the Negro soldiers (after a year as Captain and Major in the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth New York Volunteers), as Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel of the Ninth and Eighth Regiments of United States Colored Troops, convinced me of the excellent qualities and capacities of the freedmen. Their quick response to good treatment and to discipline was a constant surprise. Their tidiness, devotion to their duty and their leaders, their dash and daring in battle, and ambition to improve,—often studying their spelling books under fire,—showed that slavery was a false though doubtless, for the time being, an educative condition, and that they deserved as good a chance as any people.

In March, 1866, I was placed by General O. O. Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, in charge of ten counties in Eastern Virginia, with headquarters at Hampton, the great "contraband" camp, to manage Negro affairs and adjust, if possible, the relation of the races. Colored squatters by thousands, and General Lee's disbanded soldiers returning to their families, came together in my district on hundreds of "abandoned" farms which government had seized and allowed the freedmen to occupy. There was irritation, but both classes were ready to do the fair thing. It was about a two years' task to settle matters by making terms with the land-owners, who employed many laborers on their restored homes. Swarms went back on passes to the "old plantations" with thirty days' rations, and nearly a thousand were placed in families in Massachusetts as servants, through the agency of a Home in Cambridgeport, under charge of a committee of Boston ladies.

Hardest of all was to settle the ration question: about two thousand, having been fed for years, were demoralized and seemed hopeless. Notice was given that in three months, on Oct. 1, 1866, all rations would be stopped, except to those in hospital, for whom full provision was made. Trouble was expected, but there was not a ripple of it or a complaint that day. Their resource was surprising: the Negro in a tight place is a genius.

It was my duty, every three months, to personally visit and report upon the condition of the ten counties; to inspect the Bureau office in each, in charge of an army officer, to investigate troubles, and to study the relations of the races. The better class of whites were well disposed, but inactive in suppressing any misconduct of the lower class. Friendliness between the races was general, broken only by political excitement, and was due,

I think, to the fact that they had been brought up together, often in the most intimate way, from childhood,—a surprise to me; for, on missionary ground, parents, with the spirit of martyrs, take every pains to prevent contact of their children with the natives around them.

Martial law prevailed. There were no civil courts, and for many months the Bureau officer in each county acted on all kinds of cases, gaining generally the confidence of both races. When martial law was over, the Military Court at Hampton was kept up by common consent for about six months. Scattered families were reunited. Even from Louisiana—for the whole South was mapped out, each county officered, and, as a rule, wisely administered—would come inquiries about the relatives and friends of those who had been sold to traders years before; and great justice and humanity were shown in bringing together broken households.

General Howard and the Freedmen's Bureau did for the ex-slaves, from 1865 to 1870, a marvellous work, for which due credit has not been given,—among other things, granting three and a half millions of dollars for school-houses, salaries, etc., thereby giving an impulse and foundation to the education of about a million colored children. The principal Negro educational institutions of to-day, then starting, were liberally aided at a time of vital need. Hampton received over \$50,000 through General Howard for buildings and improvements.

On relieving my predecessor, Captain C. B. Wilder, of Boston, at the Hampton headquarters, I found an active, excellent educational work going on under the American Missionary Association of New York. This society in 1862 had opened in the vicinity the first school for freedmen in the South, in charge of an ex-slave, Mrs. Mary Peake. Over fifteen hundred children were gathered daily,—some in old hospital barracks; for here was Camp Hamilton, the base hospital of the Army of the James, where during the war thousands of sick and wounded soldiers had been cared for, and now where over six thousand lie buried in a beautiful national cemetery. The largest class was held in the "Butler School" building, since replaced by the "John G. Whittier School-house."

Close at hand the pioneer settlers of America and the first slaves landed on this continent. Here Powhatan reigned, here the Indian was first met, here the first Indian child was baptized, here freedom was first given the slaves by General Butler's fa-

mous "contraband" order. In sight of this shore the battle of the "Monitor" and "Merrimac" saved the Union and revolutionized naval warfare. Here General Grant based the operations of his final campaign. The place was easily accessible by railroad and water routes to the North, and to a population of two millions of Negroes. The centre of prospective great commercial and maritime development—of which Newport News, soon to have the largest and finest ship-yard in the world, is beginning the grand fulfilment—and, withal, a place most healthful and beautiful for situation.

I soon felt the fitness of this historic and strategic spot for a permanent and great educational work. The suggestion was cordially received by the American Missionary Association, which authorized the purchase, in June, 1867, of "Little Scotland," an estate of 125 acres on Hampton River, looking out over Hampton Roads. Not expecting to have charge, but only to help, I was surprised, one day, by a letter from Secretary E. P. Smith, of the A. M. A., stating that the man selected for the place had declined, and asking me if I could take it. I replied, "Yes." Till then my own future had been blind: it had only been clear that there was a work to be done for the ex-slaves and where and how it should be done.

A day-dream of the Hampton School, nearly as it is, had come to me during the war a few times,—once in camp during the siege of Richmond, and once one beautiful evening on the Gulf of Mexico, while on the wheel-house of the transport steamship "Illinois," *en-route* for Texas with the Twenty-fifth Army Corps (Negro) for frontier duty on the Rio Grande River, whither it had been ordered under General Sheridan, to watch and, if necessary, defeat Maximilian in his attempted conquest of Mexico.

The thing to be done was clear: to train selected Negro youth who should go out and teach and lead their people, first by example by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they could earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands; and, to these ends, to build up an industrial system, for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character. And it seemed equally clear that the people of the country would support a wise work for the freedmen. I think so still.

The missionary plan in Hawaii had not, I thought, considered enough the real needs and weaknesses of the people, whose ig-

norance alone was not half the trouble. The chief difficulty with them was deficient character, as it is with the Negro. He is what his past has made him. The true basis of work for him and all men is the scientific one,—one recognizing the facts of heredity and surrounding all the facts of the case.

There was no enthusiasm for the manual labor plan. People said, "It has been tried at Oberlin and elsewhere and given up: it won't pay." "Of course," said I, "it cannot pay in a *money* way, but it will pay in a *moral* way, especially with the freedmen. It will make them men and women as nothing else will. It is the only way to make them good Christians."

The school has had, from the first, the good fortune of liberal-minded trustees. They accepted its unformulated, practical plan, when it opened in April, 1868, with two teachers and fifteen pupils, and adopted my formal report of 1870, the year of its incorporation under a special Act of the Assembly of Virginia. By this Act of Incorporation the school became independent of any association or sect and of the government. It does work for the state and general government, for which it receives aid, but is not controlled or supported by them.

From the first it has been true to the idea of education by self-help, and I hope it will remain so. Nothing is asked for the student that he can provide by his own labor; but the system that gives him this chance is costly. The student gets nothing but an opportunity to work his way. While the workshops must be made to pay as far as possible, instruction is as important as production.

The Slater Fund has been a great stimulus to technical training. The Negro girl has proved a great success as a teacher. The women of the race deserve as good a chance as the men. So far it has been impossible to supply the demand for Negro teachers. School-houses and salaries, such as they are, are ready; but competent teachers are the great and pressing need, and there is no better work for the country than to supply them. But the short public school sessions, of from three to seven months, do not give full support, and skilled labor is the only resource of many teachers for over half the year. As farmers and mechanics, they are nearly as useful as in the school-room. Hence the importance of industrial training.

Hampton's thousand graduates (discounting ten per cent. as disappointing), with half that number of undergraduates, are a working force for Negro and Indian civilization.

It was not in the original plan of the school that any but Negroes should be received, though the liberal State charter made no limit as to color; but when, in April, 1878, a "Macedonian cry" came from some Indian ex-prisoners of war in Florida—once the worst of savages—through Captain R. H. Pratt, seventeen were accepted at private expense, Bishop Whipple providing for five of them.

A few weeks after the arrival of the Indian ex-prisoners, I called on the Hon. Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior, to suggest that the so far very encouraging experiment in Indian civilization be tried more fully by bringing some younger material, girls especially. He called in Mr. E. A. Hayt, Commissioner, who stated, in effect, that the education of Indian girls had been a failure, and threw cold water on the plan. I urged that there is no civilization without educated women, and begged the Secretary to let us try. He decided to do so, and gave the necessary orders, and at my request sent Captain Pratt—whom Secretary of War Robert Lincoln had, on my application, detailed temporarily to help us in our Hampton experiment—to Dakota, whence he brought back to Hampton, in November, 1878, forty boys and nine girls, chiefly Sioux. I wish to give Mr. Carl Schurz the credit of creating, on the government side, the work of Eastern Indian schools. This action of his was a turning-point. The work then became routine, though not without difficulties, and our Indian contingent soon reached its limit of one hundred and twenty, aided by government, and from fifteen to twenty by charity, occasionally an able-bodied young man working out his entire expenses.

The old homesickness of Indians at Eastern schools is over. The three years' period at school, which was formerly too much like a prison term, is more and more ignored; and the idea of fitting for life, whatever time it takes, gains strength. Indians are no longer coaxed to come. Twice as many as we can take wish to come, yet the really desirable ones are not very many, and we do not care to increase our numbers. Our Indian work is illustrative rather than exhaustive. Hampton's work for the "despised races" of our country, while chiefly for the Negro, is really for all who need it. Till our limit is reached, any youth in the land, however poor, can come here and work his way.

In this review I cannot but refer to my associates, without whom this work could not have been what it is. Too little credit has been given them,—the men and women who have

labored with noblest zeal, have enjoyed the privileges of such work, and are thankful for it. The present efficient force of officers and teachers could manage successfully every department of the school, should its head be taken away. In twenty-two years it has attained a life of its own: it would be poor organization and development that would not in that time have reached this point. It might once have been, but is not now, run by "one-man power." The change will come, and the school will be ready for it.

We have been fortunate in our neighbors, who from the first have been most friendly. The wide-awake town of Hampton, with an enterprising white community, has a Negro population of about three thousand, and illustrates as well as any place in the South the formation of two classes among the freedmen, the progressive and non-progressive. For miles around the country is dotted with their hard-earned homesteads; yet the "shiftless" class is large. There is little race friction, and steady improvement. Adjoining our grounds is the National Soldiers' Home, with its three thousand army veterans, and two miles distant is the United States Artillery School at Fort Monroe.

Full of resources, this famous peninsula, comparatively dormant for two hundred and fifty years, is awakening to a wonderful development, especially along its magnificent harbor front on Hampton Roads and James River. From historic Yorktown, Old Point Comfort, Newport News, and up to Jamestown Island, where stands the oldest ruin of English civilization on this continent, have already sprung large commercial, national, and educational enterprises and institutions. Thousands flock to these shores, winter and summer, for rest and recreation. The growth has only begun.

This new life and energy but typifies the awakening of the whole South under the idea which won in the war. The "Boys in Blue" did a fearful but necessary work of destruction. "It is for us to finish the work which they so nobly began," said Lincoln at Gettysburg. The duty of the hour is construction, to build up. With all credit to the pluck and heroic self-help of the Southern people and to Northern enterprise for railroad, mineral and other commercial development, the great constructive force in the South and everywhere is the Christian teacher. "*In hoc signo vinces,*" is as true now as in the days of Constantine. Let us make the teachers, and we will make the people.

The Hampton Institute should be pushed steadily, not to larger but to better, more thorough effort, and placed on a solid foundation. It is big enough, but its work is only begun. Its work, with that of other like schools, is on the line of Providential purpose in ending the great struggle as it did,—the redemption of both races from the evils of slavery, which, while to the Negro educative up to a certain point, was a curse to the country. God said, "Let my people go," and it had to be done.

GENERAL ARMSTRONG'S FIRST REPORT TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE
HAMPTON INSTITUTE (1870).

We have before us this question: What should be the character of an educational institution devoted to the poorer classes of the South? It is presumed that the greatest amount of good, the wisest expenditure of effort and money, are sought.

It is useless at present to expect the ignorant whites to accept instruction side by side with the colored race. To a broad impartiality the Negro only responds. Let us consider, therefore, what answer to our problem is indicated by the character and needs of the freed people. Plainly a system is required which shall be at once constructive of mental and moral worth, and destructive of the vices characteristic of the slave. What are these vices? They are improvidence, low ideas of honor and morality, and a general lack of directive energy, judgment and foresight. Thus disabled, the ex-slave enters upon the merciless competition incident to universal freedom. Political power being placed in his hands, he becomes the prey of the demagogue, or attempts that low part himself. In either case he is the victim of his greatest weakness,—vanity. Mere tuition is not enough to rescue him from being forever a tool, politically and otherwise. The educated man usually overestimates himself, because his intellect has grown faster than his experience in life; but the danger to the Negro is greater proportionally, as his desire is to shine rather than to do. His deficiencies of character are, I believe, worse for him and the world than his ignorance. But with these deficiencies are a docility and enthusiasm for improvement, and a perseverance in the pursuit of it, which form a basis of great hope, and justify any outlay and the ablest service in his behalf.

At Hampton, Va., a spot central and accessible from a wide extent of country, we are trying to solve the problem of an education best suited to the needs of the poorer classes of the South, by sending out to them teachers of moral strength as well as mental culture. To this end the most promising youths are selected. The poverty of these pupils has required the introduction of manual labor. Let us examine the system in its three-fold aspect, industrial, moral and intellectual, and disciplinary, or administrative.

First, the plan of combining mental and physical labor is *a priori* full of objections. It is admitted that it involves friction, constant embarrassment, and apparent disadvantage to educational advancement, as well as to the profits of various industries. But to the question, "Do your students have sufficient time to study all their lessons faithfully?" I should answer, "Not enough, judging from the common use of time; but under pressure they make use of the hours they have. There is additional energy put forth, an increased rate of study which makes up for the time spent in manual labor, while the physical vigor gained affords abundant strength for severe mental labor." Nothing is of more benefit than this compulsory waking up of the faculties. After a life of drudgery the plantation hand will, under this system, brighten and learn surprisingly well.

In the girls' industrial housework departments there is an assignment, for a period, of a certain number to certain duties. On the farm the plan of working the whole force of young men for a few hours each day has been given up for the better one of dividing them into five squads, each of which works one day of each week and all on Saturdays. All are paid by the hour for their service, at the rate of from four to ten cents, according to the kind of work done. Under these arrangements our industries thrive and were never so hopeful as now. The very difficult problem of creating a profitable female industry has been solved in the most fortunate manner by supplying the boys with clothing made of good material, at a fair price. Our students, both young men and young women, go to their appointed duties with cheerfulness; and the school is full of the spirit of self-help.

However the future may decide the question, our two years' experience of the manual labor system has been satisfactory. Progress in study has been rapid and thorough,—I venture to say, not excelled in any school of the same grade. There have been a steadiness and solidity of character and a spirit of self-denial

developed, an appreciation of the value of opportunities manifested, which would not be possible under other conditions. Unfortunately there is a limit to the number that can be profitably employed. This institute should, I think, be polytechnic,—growing step by step, adding new ones as the old ones shall become established and remunerative, thus enlarging the limits of paying labor and increasing the attendance, hoping finally to crown its ruder products with the results of finer effort in the region of art.

There are two objective points before us, toward one or the other of which all our energies must soon be directed as the final work of this institute. One is the training of the intellect, storing it with the largest amount of knowledge, producing the brightest examples of culture. The other is the more difficult one of attempting to educate in the original and broadest sense of the word, to draw out a complete manhood. The former is a laborious but simple work. The latter is full of difficulty. It is not easy to surround the student with a perfectly balanced system of influences. The value of every good appliance is limited, and ceases when not perfectly adjusted to the higher end. The needle, the broom, and wash-tub, the awl, the plane, and the plough become the allies of the globe, the blackboard, and the text-book.

The course of study does not run smoothly. There is action and reaction, depression and delight; but the reserve forces of character no longer lie dormant. They make the rough places smooth. The school becomes a drill ground for the future work; it sends men and women rather than scholars into the world.

But what should be studied in a course like this? The question brings us to the second branch of our subject; namely, its moral and intellectual aspect. The end of mental training is a discipline and power not derived so much from knowledge as from the method and spirit of the student. I think too much stress is laid on the importance of choosing one of the great lines of study, the classics or the natural sciences, and too little upon the vital matter of insight into the life and spirit of that which is studied. Latin, as taught by one man, is an inspiration; by another, it is drudgery. Who can say that the study of this or that is requisite, without conditioning its value upon the fitness of the teacher? Vital knowledge cannot be got from books: it comes from insight, and we attain it by earnest and steady thought under wise direction.

But let us consider the practical question whether the classics should be made an object in our course, or whether, ruling them out, we should teach only the higher English studies.

It is the theory of Matthew Arnold that a teacher should develop the special aptitudes. To ignore them is a failure. The attempt to cast all mind in one mould is useless. But for one Anglo-African who would, on this theory, need to acquire the ancient languages, there are, I believe, twenty whose best aptitude would find full scope in the study of the mother tongue and its literature, supposing them to have a taste for language and for the higher pursuits of the human mind. Emerson says, "What is really best in any book is translatable,—any real insight or broad human sentiment." He who has mastered the English, then, has within reach whatever is best in all literature.

Our three years' course, with but little preliminary training, cannot be expected to furnish much. Our students can never become advanced enough in that time to be more than superficially acquainted with Latin and Greek. Their knowledge would rather tend to cultivate their conceit than to fit them for faithful educators of their race, because not complete enough to enable them to estimate its true value. The great need of the Negro is logic, and the subjection of feeling to reason; yet in supplying his studies we must exercise his curiosity, his love of the marvellous, and his imagination as means of sustaining his enthusiasm.

An English course embracing reading and elocution, geography, mathematics, history, the sciences, the study of the mother tongue and its literature, the leading principles of mental and moral science and political economy, would, I think, make up a curriculum that would exhaust the best powers of nineteen-twentieths of those who would, for years to come, enter the institute. Should, however, any pupil have a rare aptitude for the classics, and desire to become a man of letters in the largest sense, it would be our duty to provide special instruction for him or send him where he could receive it. For such the Howard University at Washington offers a broad and high plane of intellectual advantage.

The question of coeducation of the sexes is, to my mind, settled by most favorable experience with the present plan. Our school is a little world. The life is genuine, the circle of influence is complete. The system varies industry, and cheapens the cost of living. If the condition of woman is the true gauge of civilization, how should we be working, except indirectly, for a

real elevation of society by training young men alone? The freed woman is where slavery left her. Her average state is one of pitiable destitution of whatever should adorn and elevate her sex. In every respect the opportunities of the sexes should be equal, and two years of experience have shown that young men and women of color may be educated together to the greatest mutual advantage, and without detriment to a high moral standard.

We now come to the consideration of the third branch of our subject,—namely, the disciplinary features of the institution. No necessity has so far arisen for the adoption of a system of marks, prizes, or other such incentives. Expulsion has sometimes, though rarely, been resorted to. Our most perplexing cases have been those of honest, well-meaning students, either of limited ability and fine character, or those of low propensity or childishness or coarseness of character. One of the latter class may be a zealous student, and there may be a power in him that will be used in a good or bad cause, yet this evil trait will be quickly caught by the pliant and younger ones around him. He finally may become a strong and worthy man, but meanwhile great mischief is wrought. The tone of the school is lowered. Many have learned wickedness of which they can scarcely be cured. The celebrated head-master of Rugby said, “Till a man learns that the first, second, and the third duty of a schoolmaster is to get rid of unpromising subjects, a great public school will never be what it might be, and what it ought to be.” A course of study, beyond the rudiments, is not best for all. I expect young men will be discharged, without dishonor, from this institute, who will become eminent partly because sent off to travel a more difficult and heroic way.

To implant right motive power and good habits, aided by the student's own perceptions, to make him train himself, is the end of discipline. Yet there is need of much external force, mental and moral, especially upon the plastic natures with whom we deal. There must be study of the character, advice, sympathy, and, above all, a judicious letting alone.

Of all our work, that upon the heart is the most important. There can be no question as to the paramount necessity of teaching the vital precepts of the Christian faith, and of striving to awaken a genuine enthusiasm for the higher life, that shall be sustained, and shall be the strong support of the young workers who may go out to be examples of their race.

In the history of our institution so far, we have cause for en-

couragement. Three years ago this month our building began with but \$2,000 on hand or in prospect; for, although the American Missionary Association selected and purchased this most fortunate spot and paid our running expenses, it could not offer the means of construction. Already nearly \$100,000 have been expended in permanent improvements, for which we may thank the Freedman's Bureau and Northern benefactors. I think we may reasonably hope to build up here, on historic grounds, an institution that will aid freedmen to escape from the difficulties that surround them, by affording the best possible agency for their improvement in mind and heart, by sending out, not pedagogues, but those whose culture shall be upon the whole circle of living, and who with clear insight and strong purpose will do a quiet work that shall make the land purer and better.

MEMORANDA FOUND AMONG GEN. ARMSTRONG'S PAPERS AT
HIS DEATH.

"Now that all is bright, the family together, and there is nothing to alarm and very much to be thankful for, it is well to look ahead and, perhaps, to say the things that I should wish known should I suddenly die.

"I wish to be buried in the school graveyard, among the students, where one of them would have been put had he died next.

"I wish no monument or fuss whatever over my grave; only a simple headstone,—no text or sentiment inscribed, only my name and date. I wish the simplest funeral service, without sermon or attempt at oratory—a soldier's funeral.

"I hope there will be enough friends to see that the work of the school shall continue. Unless some shall make sacrifice for it, it cannot go on.

"A work that requires no sacrifice does not count for much in fulfilling God's plans. But what is commonly called sacrifice is the best, happiest use of one's self and one's resources—the best investment of time, strength, and means. He who makes no such sacrifice is most to be pitied. He is a heathen, because he knows nothing of God.

"In the school the great thing is not to quarrel; to pull all together; to refrain from hasty, unwise words and actions; to unselfishly and wisely seek the best good of all; and to get rid of workers whose temperaments are unfortunate—whose heads are not level; no matter how much knowledge or culture they may have. Cantankerousness is worse than heterodoxy.

"I wish no effort at a biography of myself made. Good friends might get up a pretty good story, but it would not be the whole truth. The truth of life usually lies deep down—we hardly know ourselves—God only does. I trust His mercy. The shorter one's creed the better. 'Simply to Thy cross I cling' is enough for me.

"I am most thankful for my parents, my Hawaiian home, for war experiences, and college days at Williams, and for life and work at Hampton. Hampton has blessed me in so many ways; along with it have come the choicest people of this country for my friends and helpers, and then such a grand chance to do something directly for those set free by the war, and, indirectly, for those who were conquered; and Indian work has been another great privilege.

"Few men have had the chance that I have had. I never gave up or sacrificed anything in my life—have been, seemingly, guided in everything.

"Prayer is the greatest thing in the world. It keeps us near to God—my own prayer has been most weak, wavering, inconstant, yet has been the best thing I have ever done. I think this is universal truth—what comfort is there in any but the broadest truth?

"I am most curious to get a glimpse of the next world. How will it seem? Perfectly fair and perfectly natural, no doubt. We ought not to fear death. It is friendly.

"The only pain that comes at the thought of it is for my true, faithful wife and blessed, dear children. But they will be brave about it all and in the end stronger. They are my greatest comfort.

"Hampton must not go down. See to it, you who are true to the black and red children of the land and to just ideas of education.

"The loyalty of old soldiers and of my students has been an unspeakable comfort.

"It pays to follow one's best light—to put God and country first, ourselves afterward.

"Taps has just sounded.

"S. C. ARMSTRONG.

"HAMPTON, VIRGINIA, New Year's Eve, 1890."

Samuel Chapman Armstrong was born Jan. 20, 1839, in the island of Maui, Hawaiian Islands, his father and mother being missionaries to the Hawaiians. He received his early education at the "Royal School" at Punahou, founded for the training of the young chiefs, Kalakaua and Liliuokalani, who later became king and queen of the islands, being among his playmates. The school was presided over by two Americans, and the mission children outnumbered the natives. Armstrong wrote of the school in later years, "I regard it as the ideal school of all I have ever known for the perfect balance of its mental and moral inspiration." Manual labor was required of all the pupils, and the school furnished Armstrong with many suggestions later for Hampton. In 1860 he entered the Junior Class at Williams College in Massachusetts; it being the dearest wish of his father, who died just before, that he should be under the influence of Dr. Mark Hopkins, its revered president. Armstrong formed a lasting friendship with the great teacher, and felt his influence through life. Immediately upon his graduation he entered the army, as captain

of a company in a New York regiment, reached the front in September, 1862, and served until the close of the war. Just after the battle of Gettysburg, where his skill and courage were conspicuous, he was promoted to the rank of major. Later, in 1863, he became lieutenant colonel of a colored regiment. "All mankind," he wrote, "are looking to see whether the African will show himself equal to the opportunity before him. And what is this opportunity? It is to demonstrate to the world that he is a *man*." In 1864 he became colonel of another colored regiment, which he commanded until the end.

Early in 1866 he entered the service of the Freedmen's Bureau. "We've a great lot of contrabands down on the Virginia Peninsula," said one of the aides at the Washington office, "and can't manage them: no one has had success in keeping them straight. General Howard thinks you might try it." Armstrong tried it. He arrived at Fortress Monroe in March, 1866, and rode out a few miles to his post at the village of Hampton. The work which followed is detailed by General Armstrong himself in the paper reprinted in the present leaflet. The Hampton Institute was founded in 1868; and its life and Armstrong's life were one for the next twenty-five years. His first report to the trustees of the Institute, in 1870, given in the present leaflet, stated his principles and programme for the school. He said twenty years later that the statement "is as much the work of my friend and former associate, Mr. Francis Richardson, then farm manager (a graduate of Haverford College), as it is my own. After about two years of service together and careful discussion for several evenings, each with pen in hand, we wrote our ideas of a proper 'platform' for the school, and put them together." He reprinted this "platform" in his Report for 1890, with the remark: "I would now hardly change a word of the above statement either for present or future use." General Armstrong died at Hampton, May 11, 1893. His body was laid among those of his Negro and Indian students who had died at the school,— "where one of them would have been put, had he died next," was his charge,— with a block of Williamstown granite at one end of the grave and one of Hawaiian volcano rock at the other.

There is a biography of General Armstrong by his daughter, Edith Armstrong Talbot, to which the student is primarily referred. The volume entitled "Twenty-two Years' Work of the Hampton Institute," published in 1893, containing the chapter by General Armstrong reprinted in this leaflet and chapters by General Marshall, Miss Ludlow, and others of his associates, is of high historical value concerning the early period of the Institute. Many important words upon Armstrong's life and work have been published, among them the noble addresses by Professor Francis G. Peabody, Mr. Robert C. Ogden, Rev. John H. Denison, and President Franklin Carter of Williams College. President Carter, speaking at Hampton in 1902, said:—

"Think of the great schools that have had their origin in this school; think of the hundreds of little schools that have been guided by the student graduates of this school; think of the thousands of children that throughout the South have learned how to read, cipher, write and speak properly, to watch the growth of plants and animals, to know something of the history of our country and of the world, to whom the world is such a different place because General Armstrong lived and died here; think of the hundreds of steady, productive farmers, carpenters, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, bricklayers, leather-workers, who have gone out from here to contribute to the comfort and improvement of their own race and to the stability of society; and think of the hundreds of mothers trained to neatness and thrift, with enough perception and love of knowledge to quicken in their little ones the thirst for respectable attainments and the sincere love of home, all because General Armstrong lived and died here. The cost has been indeed great, but the harvest also wonderfully great. Had this school done nothing more than to send out one Booker Washington, it would have been a glorious success. Had Williams College no other graduate than Samuel Chapman Armstrong, it would have amply paid for its cost."

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Old Jersey.

BY GEORGE E. WARING, JR.

Nothing in the whole experience of travel produces such genuine emotion as discovery. To come upon an interesting and important old town, of which we had hitherto known next to nothing, and of which we are sure that most of our countrymen are equally ignorant, awakens an introverted enthusiasm that proves us akin to Columbus. "Where is Treves, exactly? I don't think I quite know." Such a question as this, from one who is otherwise our equal, always emphasizes the secret satisfaction with which we contemplate our individual merit of good fortune.

Discovery is not the least of the great pleasures that finally reward those who climb down from the high quay at St. Malo and embark on the side-wheeler "Pinta," bound for the untried waters of La Manche, which we found still so lashed by the tail of the "forte tempête" that even the barbarous passage from Dover to Calais faded from our recollection. After four hours of almost mortal agony, we ran past the great mole at St. Helier's, and were in still water. In due time we were in the old "Hôtel de la Pomme d'Or," and were at rest, amid such wholesome old-fashioned hospitality and cordial attention as only a combination of French and English customs can give. Think of Southdown mutton and "Suprême de Volaille," of English tea and French coffee, under the same roof!

The rain, which had so much interfered with our pleasure in France, had rained itself out, and our two weeks in Jersey were

blessed with the most superb autumn weather. We were in a land rarely visited by Americans, and so little known to our literature of travel that at each turn of its beautiful lanes we found a fresh surprise and delight. So much as is generally known of the island relates—just as our popular notions of Siam centre around its twins—to the cattle for which it has long been famous. The cattle are still there in all their beauty, but they are only an element of a beauty that is almost universal.

Our own interest in Jersey was largely an agricultural one, but we found much else that cannot fail to engage the attention of all who care for the picturesqueness of history, of society, and of nature. The island lies sixteen miles west of the coast of Normandy, forty miles north of Brittany, and about one hundred miles south of England. It is about as large as our own Staten Island, containing nearly forty thousand acres of land, about twenty-five thousand of which are under cultivation. The population is over fifty-six thousand, or about two and one-fourth for each acre of cultivated land. More than one-half of the population is in St. Helier's, which is the only town of considerable size.

More even than most islands, Jersey is a little world by itself, with its own history and local peculiarities, very different from any that we find in other countries. Its agriculture is as unlike that of England or France as are the people themselves unlike their French cousins or their English compatriots.

If one feature of the scenery is more peculiar to the island than any other (and almost more charming than anything of its kind elsewhere), it is the embowered lanes which intersect it in every direction, like a network of lovers' walks. They are always of about the same character, yet always varying: a narrow, capitably made road—as hard and smooth as those of Central Park—often only wide enough for a single vehicle, but with frequent bays for passing; high earthen banks at the sides for fences, which make the lane seem a trench cut into the soil; trees growing from the tops of these banks, sending their snake-like roots down under the grass and clustering ferns, to the firm ground beneath, and overarching the way with their branches; and, to crown all, the greenest and most luxuriant ivy, starting at the roadside gutters, and, claiming its share of the bank, winding itself closely around the trunks of the trees, and draping their interlocked branches overhead, or infolding the end of a dead limb with a mass of sturdy blossom or fruit. New trees are

springing up to replace those which the ivy has reduced to mere stumps or trunks of solid verdure, and so the form and combination of the row is varied at every step. Frequent gate-ways open glimpses into the fields. Here and there a bit of stone-work replaces or supports the earthen wall. There are many cool-looking, stone-arched, natural fountains sunk in the verdure, and sometimes the land slopes away from the road into an overgrown ravine, from which there comes the sound of running water.

The winding lane at Rozel, which runs at the crest of a damp and sheltered ravine, in whose deep shade a rivulet runs, and the old manor road at Vinchelez (with an ancient Norman gate-way), are good examples of Jersey lanes; but there are miles and miles of these in every direction, all of the same general character, and constantly changing in detail.

It is through such secluded ways as these, and past comfortable farm-houses and thatched cottages and sheds, that one drives to get an impression of the agriculture and the life of Jersey. It soon becomes evident, however, that no traveller's casual impression will do justice to this compact little country. It is too different from what we find elsewhere, and needs study to be understood.

Wishing to get the full impression of *living* in Jersey, we made but a short stay at the "Pomme d'Or," for the blessed English institution of "lodgings" prevails,—an institution whose adoption in America would add much to the comfort of the nomadic part of our population. Driving about in the neighborhood of the town, we decided on a cottage on the shore of St. Aubin's Bay (about a mile from St. Helier's), kept by a widow and her daughter, who, with the help of a small handmaiden, did all the work of the establishment. We had a pleasant parlor and dining-room *en suite*, three chambers and sufficient closets. For this, with service, fires, gas, and all extras, the charge was three guineas per week (about seventeen dollars currency). We did our own marketing in person, and had passbooks with the butcher, grocer, and baker, and were soon as much at home, and in as regular relations with our base of supply in the town, as though we had no other home in the world. In the house the hours, the customs, and the diet were quite under our control, and we were fast growing into Jerseymen, which seemed a very pleasant thing to do. Our rooms occupied the whole sea-front of the house, and commanded a superb view (toward the afternoon sun and

the crescent moon) over the bay and past Noirmont Point. The view to the left was bounded by the town and harbor, and before us stood the storied pile of Elizabeth Castle, like Mont St. Michel, an island at high tide, and accessible over the dry sands at low water. Looking to the right, toward Noirmont Point, the view lies across St. Aubin's Bay, with the cluster of rocks on which St. Aubin's castle stands. Even Jersey has not been exempt from the invasion of the railroad, and every half-hour there rattled along the shore in front of us the odd little train that runs from St. Helier's to St. Aubin's, four miles. It was drawn by a little pony of a locomotive, and consisted of two cars, like those of England, but with a covered and well-railed balcony running along each side, and usually occupied by the passengers, who at this season generally avoided the closer compartments within. This arrangement gives an unusual width to the cars, but there seems to be no objection to it for roads where there are no cuttings: it is, certainly, most agreeable in pleasant weather, and admits of the opening of windows during rain.

Being much favored in the matter of weather, we passed a good part of every day in driving about the country, sometimes lingering over the majestic rocks of the north coast, which rises about three hundred feet above the sea, and is especially abrupt and grand, but more often haunting the quieter lanes and drinking our fill of a sensation not to be repeated in our different rural surroundings at home. Jersey is pre-eminently a country for idling. It is large enough for varied excursions, but small enough for any point to be reached easily, and it has an ever-varying and never-ending charm of coast and interior, of which one does not tire.

An impression of the island, gained only from the extreme western and northern coasts, would be an impression of a high, rocky, and almost treeless land, with little to invite the visitor, save the noble bluffs and rocks; but almost immediately on leaving the coast one drops into the characteristic rural scenes which greet him at every turn until he reaches the low-lying shores of Grouville and St. Clements. Little dells near the north side of the island, their rivulets combining to form the growing brooks, unite in deeper and broadening valleys which spread into the plains at the south,—plains into which the hills project here and there, giving admirable variety to even these lower lands, and affording the most charming sites for country-houses that overlook the St. Clements coast, fringed at low tide with far-reaching,

mellow-colored rocks. Among these the spring tides rise to the height of forty feet, leaving them bare for miles as they recede.

A good object in driving is to see the old parish churches, going from one to the other, with the aid of a map, through the cross-lanes, which are much more picturesque than the main highways, and which often drop down into charming valleys, past old-time mills, and among old thatched farm-houses.

The churches themselves are interesting from without, but the interiors that we saw are dull and cold and colorless. They all stand in ancient church-yards thickly set with tombstones, whose inscriptions are in French, and many of which are very old. These churches are all ancient, and there has never been an elaborate restoration of any of them. They seem to have been merely kept in suitable condition for use, and the necessary additions have generally been made in the style of the original structure.

The most recent of these edifices is that of St. Helier's, which was consecrated in 1341. Eight of the twelve were consecrated in the twelfth century,—the oldest, St. Brelade's, in 1111. This was the earliest Christian church in the Channel Islands, and is much the most antiquated and picturesque of all. St. Saviour's Church, with a square tower and fine ivy, which stands just beyond the edge of the town, and St. Martin's, four miles out, with the more usual angular spire, are perhaps the finest examples of the type.

These churches, in nearly every instance, consist of two or three similar stone buildings standing side by side (probably built one after another as needed by the growing population). The separating wall is opened with archways, so as to bring the congregation all within range of the minister's voice, though the heavy pillars still cut off very many from the controlling reach of his eye.

I found attendance at two of the country churches at which I stopped on Sunday morning rides anything but inspiring. Aside from the novelty of the use of the French language in the familiar Episcopal service, there was little to relieve that heavy air of blank *ennui* which so dulls us in the whitewashed interiors of many of our old parish churches at home.

From their quaint exteriors, their conspicuous age, the æsthetical capacities of the church ritual, the fair assumption that French congregations would put more form and art into their religious exercises than New England congregations do, and from the

rustic simplicity of the people (no less than from their charming rural surroundings), one would naturally expect an ideal service,—simple, tender, and full of dim religious emotion. Indeed, as I recall the conditions under which these exercises are held, I can only think that my selections were unfortunate, and that in those churches which I did not visit (in spite of their glaring white walls) I might have had a better experience, and that the interest which is necessarily awakened by these gray, mossy, and ivy-grown sanctuaries need not always be checked on passing their low portals.

The Channel Islands boast of being the oldest possessions of the present ruling house of Great Britain. Normandy, to which they then belonged, was given by Charles the Simple to Duke Rollo in 912, and it passed to the English crown with William the Conqueror. When Normandy was regained by France, the islands remained with England, and, although Jersey has been frequently attacked and sometimes invaded by the French, they have never had possession of more than a portion of the island, and never succeeded in conquering the loyal spirit of its people, though they committed wide devastation. So much was Norman or French invasion feared that there were inserted in the litany the words, "And from the fury of the Normans, good Lord, deliver us!"

When King John lost Normandy, he looked upon these islands "as the last Plank left of so great a Shipwrack," and resolved to keep them at whatever cost. He was twice in Jersey in person, and became a sort of vicarious father of the country, to which he gave "many excellent Laws and Priviledges."

During the reign of Edward III., the famous Du Guesclin, with an army that included the flower of French chivalry, effected a landing, held possession of the eastern parishes, and besieged for some months Mont Orgueil Castle, to which the chief person of the island had retired. The castle held out, and the invaders withdrew into France.

Henry VI., during his contest for the throne, solicited French aid against Edward IV., and his Queen contracted with the Count de Maulevrier that, in consideration for his services, the Channel Islands should be made over to him. He seized Mont Orgueil Castle by surprise, and employed every device of kindness to induce the people of Jersey to renounce their allegiance to England and to acknowledge him. "He could never prevail on the inclinations of a people who were enraged to see them-

selves sold to the French, a nation which they hated; insomuch that, in about six years' time, he could never make himself master of above half the island." During this period there were frequent skirmishes between the French and the troops of the loyal Seigneur of St. Ouen, who held the western parishes.

Finally, under Edward IV. the castle was reduced by famine, and the French were driven quite out of the island.

Mont Orgueil, which dates back to the time of Cæsar, figures largely in the early history of Jersey, and its story is full of interest. It is now a noble mass of ruin, and the ivy which frames its abandoned loopholes piles massy green upon its crumbling parapet, and drapes its ponderous sides with living verdure; the ivy and the salt sea-winds have claimed it for their own; it is only a dreamy old crag of solid walls, whispering its tale of the bygone times in the idle and gladly credulous ear of the traveller. At its feet breaks the summer spray of La Manche, and from its crest one sees, across the smoky distance, the phantom spires of Coutances. There is a snug inn in the little village of Gorey beneath the castle. In front of this, vessels lie heeled over on their sides on the harbor mud, waiting idly for the rising tide. There are charming walks near at hand, when the single visit has been paid to the prosaic cromlech on the hill, where the old Druids celebrated their now forgotten rites.

Between the castle and St. Helier's is La Hougue Bie, a tumular mound, overgrown with rhododendron, on which stands an ancient tower with several furnished rooms and a little chapel. This is one of the lions of Jersey (admission sixpence, and "please remember the guide, sir"). A quaint legend of treachery and retribution and wifely devotion is droned off by the small showman, and the visitor is conducted to the elevated platform, from which the charming freshness and beauty of the southeastern parishes are realized as from no other point, and where the best idea is gained of the insular character of Jersey, and of its nearness to the French coast.

It is not, after all, for its lions that one should visit Jersey, but rather for the great enjoyment of its lanes and homelike little farms. Any mile of its smaller roads is worth all else that it has to offer to those who are only in pursuit of pleasure; and, indeed, one who enjoys simple country things, and an air of foreign and unmodern quaintness, need seek no farther to find these in their most engaging and unspoiled form.

Naturally, one who visits this island will have much of his

attention taken up by the town and the people, and their institutions. It is not an attractive town, nor especially unattractive. Falle wrote, in 1693: "The chief Town is St. Helier, a neat, well-built Town, seated near the Sea, containing about a 1,000 Inhabitants, who are for the most part Merchants, Traders, and Artificers; The Gentry and People of the best Fashion living generally in the Country. 'Tis the ordinary Seat of Justice; and here is kept a Market, in the nature of a Fair, every Saturday, where Gentlemen meet for Conversation as well as for Business." It is closely built, and has a busy air, and its population includes a large element of English families, who have been attracted here by a combination of climate, cheapness, and good schools; and, in the summer time, a more conspicuous element of cheap tourists. These are known as "Five Pounders," many of them being clerks spending their holiday weeks and their five-pound notes in noisy and unlovely pastimes. Happily they fill the great open excursion-cars and spend the whole day in the country. These cars, drawn by four horses, are of such width that they must needs keep to the broad roads, and their routes are easily avoided. In all our wanderings, we very rarely fell in with them.

This incursion of tourists and the large floating population have built up certain branches of trade to unexpected proportions. The port of Jersey is absolutely free (save for a slight impost on spirits); and wages and the cost of living are so low that shopping is exceptionally cheap. Some of the shops are a surprise for their size and completeness. One establishment has every conceivable article of useful and ornamental furniture, including rare china and glass. Another shop, De Gruchy's, is larger and more complete than any that I know in America, except two or three in New York, especially in its supply and variety of useful goods: it includes a capital tailoring establishment, and ladies' dresses and men's hats seem to be important branches. We found the prices of certain goods much lower than in corresponding shops in London, and could very well understand that, to a family man in need of an outfit, the æsthetic inducement is not the only one that Jersey holds out.

The native population of the town are English of the English, —in their dress and in their sentiment of nationality; but there lurk under the surface some qualities that betray the unmixed Norman blood that still fills their veins, modified by eight hundred years of English nationality, but lacking the admixture of the Saxon and old Briton elements. In the presence of the world

at large the Jerseyman is an Englishman; but in the presence of the English he asserts himself (at least to himself) a Jerseyman. He is proud of his allegiance to England, but prouder still that he is of this choicest and oldest part of the English possessions.

The odd thing about this island, and the one that seems most incongruous, is that the language of the people, especially in the country, but also very largely in the town, is French. We often met women and children on the farms who spoke no English, and in one very attractive photograph shop in St. Helier's we were asked if we did not speak French. Many of the market-women seem to be only sufficiently acquainted with English for the purposes of their traffic. The regular service in all the parish churches is in French, but there is in St. Helier's Church an afternoon service in English for the benefit of the garrison. The official language of the courts is French, but English suitors may examine witnesses and address the court in their own tongue. Official notices are posted in the two languages. The reading part of the population is more largely English, if we may judge from the fact that there are six English newspapers and only three French ones. This, however, may result from the fact that the newspaper is much more fully developed in England than in France.

One might pass some time in the town, in the usual way of tourists, without discovering that he was not in an English community; but a trip to the country would soon inform him. The men and the younger women and the larger children speak modern French as their language of law and devotion, and English (usually less readily and perfectly) as their language of trade and business intercourse; but both tongues are in a measure foreign to them, while to the younger children and the older women they seem to be sometimes but little known, except for the routine of the church service. The language of the Jersey hearthstone—the "mother-tongue" of the country people—is French, it is true, but it is the French of the days of the old Dukes of Normandy, that which was carried by the Conqueror into England, and may be better described as the Anglo-Norman. It is essentially the same language as that of the present country population of Normandy, save that this has some engraftings of modern French, as that of Jersey has of English.

The modern language of Jersey (we have hardly the right to call this cradle of our own tongue a *patois*) is illustrated by the following specimen: "J'ai bain des fais paslait à mes ammins à

l'endrait d'esl'ver un monueusment à s'nhonneu, mais chest comme si j'm'capuchais la teste contre la pathé, ils ont poeux desmonaizir quicq' herpins,—eh! Mon Gui, il en laissont drièthe jeux d'ches fréluques, nou n'les mettra pou à lus servir d'ouothilli quand nou les pliache 'cha dans lues dernièthe grande naithe casaque et que nou il'z'envietha à s'er' poser dans l'bain grand Gardin à nour' ammin le Ministre Fillieu."

In modern French this would be: "J'ai bien des fois parlé à mes amis au sujet d'élever un monument à son honneur, mais c'est comme si je me cognais la tête contre un mur, ils ont peur de dépenser quelques sous,—eh! Mon Dieu, ils en laisseront derrière eux de ces fréluques, on ne les mettra point à leur servir d'oreiller, quand nous les placerons dans leur dernier grand habit noir, et qu'on les enverra se reposer dans le beau grand jardin de notre ami le Révérend Filleul."

A knowledge of French helps hardly at all to an understanding of Jersey French when spoken. It is a rude language, and seems not out of place among the poorer people, but it is odd to hear it familiarly used by educated persons; yet in the most aristocratic families it is the language of the household. We once asked our way of an old woman who was working in her garden. Pointing to the left, she told us to go "too gowshe" (*tout gauche*). We addressed very few who could not speak modern French, but the knowledge of English is much less common than would seem possible in an island so small that no house is more than about ten miles from a large town, where it is so generally used that it seems at first the language of the place.

Jersey is an outpost of England rather than an integral part of the Empire. It is under the protection rather than under the control of the Crown, which appoints (and supports at its own cost) a Lieutenant-Governor, who is a military officer of high rank, and commander of the considerable garrison, which is maintained without charge to the population. Acts of Parliament are not binding unless they have been specially sent by order of Council to be registered in the island. For most purposes, the local legislature ("The States of Jersey") is an independent authority, but their acts are passed "subject to the sanction of Her Most Excellent Majesty in Council." If not approved, they lapse three years after their enactment, but may be renewed from time to time.

The chief local officer is called the Bailiff. He with twelve Jurats (one from each parish) constitute the Royal Court, and

these, with the twelve rectors, twelve constables, and the fourteen deputies, elected, one from each parish, and two additional from St. Helier's, form "The States of Jersey." The bailiff presides, and he has the casting vote; but the States cannot be convened without the consent of the governor, who has the right of veto,—rarely exercised, for this official, if he be wise, confines himself mainly to the affairs of the garrison, to the management of the militia, to the enjoyment of his beautifully placed country-seat on the hill back of the town, and to systematic entertainments.

The bailiff, the jurats, and the rectors hold office for life. The bailiff and the rectors are appointed by the crown, and the jurats are elected by the rate-payers. They are not required to have legal qualifications, but certain occupations disqualify, such as butcher, baker, and innkeeper. When sitting in the Royal Court, the bailiff and the jurats wear robes of red cloth, which are more or less suggestive of bathing-dresses. In this snug little republic the *vox populi* is not so much expressed at the ballot-box as in the close intercourse of all classes, which must make the will of the people clear to their rulers, who are born Jersey-men themselves and who, probably, value the approval of their fellow-islanders beyond all other worldly incentive to right-doing.

Even-handed justice, according to the laws, seems to prevail, if we may judge from the fact that on the occasion of our visit a former jurat was in prison, and awaiting trial before the body of which he had lately been a member. So far as I could understand the case, his crime was that of having declared a dividend when the bank of which he was a director was in an insolvent condition, though in a fair way to pull through if a good dividend should have the effect of putting up the price of its shares and attracting depositors. How would such a test of crime apply in our republic?

I was one day talking with a Jersey gentleman about this case, and asked him how in such a community so large a failure was possible, suggesting that the affairs of the bank could hardly be kept from the knowledge, nor, in a measure, from the control of many of the best people. He replied sadly, and without enlightening me:—

"Ah! You see, it was a Dissenting bank."

Among the more peculiar laws is one affecting debtors. When a man is unable to pay his debts, he may be forced to "make cession"; that is, he gives up his entire assets to his creditors.

The one whose claim is the most recent has the option of taking the property on paying the other creditors. If he refuses, his claim is annulled, and the next in order of time has the opportunity, which he must accept, or forfeit his claim; and so on, until, from the extinction of a portion of the debts, a creditor is found who will pay what remains and take the estate. By the operation of a recent law a debtor may be released by consent of the majority of his creditors.

Jersey is much sought, especially by invalids, by reason of its equable climate. Much of its natural beauty, too, as well as the character of its ornamental planting, is due to its soft skies and mild winters. Changes of temperature are not often sudden or severe. The summer weather is rarely hot, and the winter is never cold. The fuchsia is a hardy shrub, and grows to a great size: it is much used as a hedge plant. Pampas grass is conspicuous in every lawn, and grows to dimensions which in our climate are quite unknown; the araucaria grows in the open air, and reaches a fine size; maidenhair and hart's-tongue fern grow wild on the fence banks; the oleander, the agave, the yucca, and the azalea flourish in private grounds beside the rich vegetation of New Zealand and the Norfolk Islands. In the grounds of Mr. Gibaut, in St. Laurence valley, there are dozens of large trees of camellia japonica, which bloom throughout the winter in the most magnificent profusion, and these are everywhere successful in the open air. Against south walls the orange ripens its fruit. The geranium is perfectly hardy, and, indeed, very many plants which can be grown only under glass in England, and only with fire heat here, succeed perfectly in the open air in Jersey. The grass is green all winter, and many sorts of trees hold their leaves very late. I have seen the laurestinus bursting its flower-buds early in December, and the whole air of the island, except on the exposed northern and western coasts, is that of a country where one may have a perpetual conservatory at one's door, roofed only by the kindly sky.

There is no miasma, and the air is not depressing, as might be suspected. On the contrary, it is a perfectly satisfactory climate for walking, quite as much so, and even more constantly so, than that of England. Consumption in its early stages is said to be checked by a residence here, and many chronic diseases yield to the effect of the wholesome air and the out-of-door life. Rheumatism, however, is said to be aggravated. Ansted, in his work on the Channel Islands, says: "It may safely be assumed

that all the islands are admirably adapted to restore the health, and strengthen both mentally and bodily the overtaxed energies of the inhabitants of great cities. They afford a pure, clear atmosphere, containing a large quantity of saline matter and iodine, and the frequent high winds insure a constant freshness, preventing the depressing effect sometimes accompanying humidity."

Falle, the historian of Jersey (Rector of St. Saviour's), after descanting on the advantage to the island of having its slope all in one direction, so that the rivulets gain sufficient size to turn "betwixt 30 and 40 mills that supply the whole country," says: "The second Benefit we receive from this Situation is that by this Declivity of the Land from N to S, the beams of the Sun fall more directly and perpendicularly thereon than if either the Surface was level and Parallel to the Sea, or which is worse, declined from S to N, as it doth in Guernezey. For there, by an odd opposition to Jersey, the land is high on the S, and low on the N, which causes, if I may so speak, a double obliquity; the one from the Position of the Sun itself, especially in time of the Winter Solstice; the other from the Situation of the Land; and is probably the Reason of the great Difference observed in the Qualities of Soil and Air in both Islands."

The quaintness of Falle's style only adds to his interest in the estimation of the student of Jersey. The roads lose nothing from his account of them. They were of three kinds: 1. "Le Chemin du Roy," twelve feet wide; 2. "Le Chemin de huit pieds," eight feet wide; and 3. "Le Chemin de quatre pieds," four feet wide, "serving only for Carriages or Horseback." "And yearly about Midsummer, there is a Perambulation of the Magistrates in one or more of the Parishes to inquire in what Repair these ways are kept, which is performed very Solemnly. The Constable of the Parish where the Perambulation is to be, takes with him 12 of the Principal Men of his Parish, and meets the Judge attended by 3 or more of the Jurats on Horseback: Before whom rideth the Viscount or Sheriff, with his Staff of Office erected, one End thereof on the Pommel of his Saddle. In ancient times it was *Cum Lanceâ*, with a Lance. He keeps the middle of the way, the Constable and his 12 Men walking on foot by his side; and when his Staff encountereth with a Bough or Branch hanging on the way, the Owner of the hedge is fined: But if the fault be in the bottom of the way, not the Party bordering but the Overseers of that Tything are amerced.

“We had anciently another way, and of very different Use, called *Perquage* from the word *Pertica* because it was exactly 24 Foot broad, which is the measure of a Perch. There were but XII of them in the whole Island beginning one at every Church, and from thence leading straight to the Sea. The Use of them was to conduct those who for some Capital offence had taken Sanctuary in any of the Churches and had been forced to abjure the Island according to an ancient custom practised among Us in those days. Having abjured, they were conducted by the Church-men along those *Perquages* to the Sea, which *Perquages* were still a Sanctuary to them; for if they strayed never so little, they lost the benefit of the Sanctuary and were liable to the Law.”

Some of these Sanctuary roads are still the lines of the main roads leading to the churches.

Deploing the excessive use of “cidar,” of which he estimates that there were made in good years twenty-four thousand hogs-heads, all of which was consumed in the island “beyond use and necessity, even to Excess and Debauchery,” he says: “Could Men be satisfied with the common Drink of Nature, Water I mean, no People in the World are more liberally stored with that than we of this Island: 'Tis in my Opinion the great Wonder of this Island, that whereas it is as it were but a great Rock, standing in the midst of the Salt Sea, it abounds beyond what is seen in any other Country under Heaven, with fresh and excellent Springs, which gush out of the hard Rock, and bubble up everywhere, running in a thousand pretty Brooks and Streams among the Dales, till they lose themselves in that great Receptacle of waters, the Ocean. There is hardly a house that has not such a Spring or Brook near it.”

Near the southwest corner of the island there is a high-lying, barren-looking stretch of sandy country, called the *Quenvais*, which is in strange contrast to the rest of Jersey. Of this the devout Rector, who never neglects a chance to point a moral, says: “We must except a large Tract of once excellent Lands in the West of the Island, which within these 200 Years have been so overrun with Sands, that the Island on that side beareth the Image of a Desart. This is said to have happened by Divine Vengeance on the Owners of those Lands, for detaining the Goods of Strangers that had been Shipwrackt on that Coast, though enjoyed by the highest Censure of the Church to restore them. There must be from time to time such publick Example

of Divine Justice among Men, that *the inhabitants of the Earth may learn Righteousness.*" Then, his spirit of fair play asserting itself, he goes on: "And yet I confess it may't be also the Effect of a Cause not Preternatural: I mean of those high Westerly winds that blow here almost at all Seasons of the Year, and which on this side of the Island, are daily seen to drive the Sands from the Bottom to the Top of the highest Cliffs."

Outside of the towns the island is mostly divided into very small holdings. Inherited lands cannot be devised by will, but must follow the law of succession. Purchased property may be devised if there are no direct heirs to inherit it. The eldest son has, as his birthright, the house and about two acres of land (five vergées): he has, in addition to this, one tenth of the landed estate and rents. What remains is then divided, two-thirds between the sons, and one-third between the daughters. This law has effected a very minute subdivision, and even the consolidation of estates by purchase is much obstructed by a law that makes land liable for the debts of the former owner, even those contracted after he has sold it. One must know, in buying property, or in taking it on long lease, not only that the person selling or leasing, and his predecessors also, are solvent at the time, but that they are likely to remain so. With all its inconveniences, this law has had the effect of tying the people to the land more completely than is usual elsewhere. The soil owns the man rather than the man the soil. The surplus population is taken up by the professions and by commerce, and very largely by the Newfoundland cod-fisheries. Many small estates are rented, and the rents are high, often fifty dollars per acre for entire farms.

There are very few farms of over fifty acres,—not more than six or eight in the whole island. From fifteen to twenty acres is the usual size of the larger holdings, but the majority of families make a comfortable support from very much less,—often from two or three acres. Nearly every one living in the country cultivates some land, no matter how little: if only a small garden-plot, he still raises vegetables for market. If he has two or three vergées, he keeps a cow and some poultry and swine. Consequently, one's wanderings in any direction outside of the towns are among an almost purely agricultural people. The "gentry" invariably cultivate their own estates, and indeed one is at a loss to learn where the gentry ends and the peasantry begins. The best names in the island are borne by the smaller landholders as

well as by the larger, and cousinship links the population into a very compact community. One result is a much higher grade of intelligence among the very small farmers than would be expected: *noblesse oblige*,—to the extent that all feel themselves to belong in a higher social plane than their possessions would indicate, and that they strive to maintain their rightful dignity. The island directory, which contains the names of many who, from the smallness of their holdings, would be called peasants in other parts of Europe, is headed “List of the names and addresses of the Resident Gentry.” The ambition of this people to maintain a good position is furthered by their situation and natural circumstances. Their soil is fertile; the sea-weed is abundant, and is a capital manure; the climate is absolutely a perfect one; and they have the best market in the world (Covent Garden) almost at their doors, to say nothing of their own town, which of itself should be able to consume all their staple products. Add to all this the possession of a race of cattle popular throughout the world, and of which the surplus is eagerly bought at high prices, and we shall understand why the position of the Jersey farmer is exceptionally favorable.

Provincial pride always reaches its most stalwart growth in islands, and in Jersey it attains proportions which are perhaps justified by a peculiarly isolated position, and by the tenacity with which old traditions and customs are still preserved. This incentive seconds that of family pride in stimulating the farmer, large or small, to the gathering of worldly gear, for which the soil is his only resource, and there results a thoroughly good agriculture, which has important lessons for us all. “High farming,” in a small way, is as well exemplified here as in Belgium. Indeed, when we consider how much greater are the requirements of these farmers than are those of the Belgian peasants, and how comfortably they are supplied, we must confess that *petite culture* here reaches its best development. . . .

The high farming is not of the sort practised in England, where a large capital is employed, and where everything is done on an extensive scale, but rather that of garden cultivation, where every acre is made to do its very best, and where deep ploughing, heavy manuring, and careful attention produce their greatest effect. It is not to be understood from this that the farms are always neat and trim, and kept polished as if for show. On the contrary, they are very often untidy, and have an ill-kept look about the fence-corners, and tumble-down old thatch-covered stone sheds;

but, as everywhere in this climate, the ivy creeps over all neglected ruin, and decks even the end of an abandoned pigsty with such masses of enchanting green and blossom that one is glad that the business of the fields and stables has left the farmer no time to improve away this wealth of roadside beauty. In our ruder climate, decay is more or less hideous; but under these softer skies, when man abandons his works, Nature takes them into her tenderest clasp and blends them with grass and tree until they seem a part of her own handiwork.

There are generally clusters of houses about the parish churches, and at no point is one often out of sight of habitations. Frequently several houses are grouped together, and the whole of the cultivated part of the island is more like a straggling village than like the most thickly settled of our farming neighborhoods.

The country-houses are almost invariably built of stone, and the older ones are roofed with thatch or red tiles,—often with a combination of the two,—thatch on the upper part of the roof, and tiles near the eaves. Each place is well provided with outbuildings, such as bake-house, stable, cow-house, sties, sheds, barns, cider-house, store-houses, etc., conveniently arranged, and proportioned to the size of the farm. The fields contain usually from less than one to three acres of land, and are divided by huge banks of earth, often studded with trees. As land increases in value, these are in some cases being levelled, and their place supplied by hedges. Orchards abound, and well they may, for cider forms the chief beverage of the poorer classes, and its importation is forbidden by law. This accounts, too, for the prevalence of the cider-house.

Some of the agricultural customs are peculiar, especially the *Vraic Harvest* and "*La Grande Fouerie*." *Vraic* is sea-weed, and the supply is almost unlimited. Probably more than thirty thousand loads are secured every year. The "*vraic venant*"—that which is washed ashore by the storms—is free to be taken at all times between sunrise and sunset. The "*vraic scié*" is that which is cut from the rocks, and the harvest is regulated by law or by a hallowed custom. There are two cuttings each year, the first beginning with the first new or full moon after the first day of February, and lasting five weeks, and the second beginning in the middle of June, and terminating absolutely on the last day of August. For the first month of the summer cutting the privilege is confined to the poor, who, however, may take only what they can carry in their arms beyond the line of the spring

tides. The first day of the cutting is a general holiday. Crowds collect about the rocks and cut all they can (using a kind of sickle), throwing it into heaps until the tide turns. It is then, as rapidly as possible, carried beyond the reach of the advancing waters. When the day's work is done, the different groups meet at some house of refreshment and have a dance and a frolic. Some of the *vraic* is applied directly to the fields and ploughed in, and some is dried for fuel, the abundant ashes remaining being sold at about fourteen cents per bushel for manure.

"La Grande Fouerie," or the *great digging*, is a custom peculiar to the Channel Islands. It is an application in field culture of the practice of "trenching" common in gardens,—that is, of a complete inversion of the soil for a depth of fourteen inches or more,—but it is mainly done with ploughs. Neighbors join forces for this work, and make it a sort of "ploughing-bee." The plough is drawn by four, six, or eight horses, according to the depth desired. . . .

Charming though this little island is in every respect, and however engaging to the general tourist, it is only the farmer who can fully appreciate its most celebrated attraction,—the one which has made it noted throughout the agricultural world. I refer to the beautiful and excellent Jersey cow. . . .

The origin of these cattle is exceedingly obscure. They probably came first from Normandy and Brittany with the early settlers, perhaps a thousand years ago; but their characteristics are quite different from those of the animals of the mainland, and are doubtless an outgrowth of climate, soil, and habit. If we could imagine France to have been the centre from which the cattle spread with the movement of the Gauls to the east and south, and of the Normans to the Channel Islands, we should find a remarkable instance of the development of original characteristics in opposite directions. Throughout Eastern France, Southern Germany, and Northern Italy the cattle are very largely—in some wide districts almost universally—of solid color, with black switches, mealy noses, and rather coarse horns. They are somewhat larger and more beefy than the animals of Western France; and, as even the cows are regularly worked, their product of milk seems to be neither very large nor very rich. In the Channel Islands, while the same general characteristics are to be traced, the question of color has obviously been disregarded, and a large majority of the cattle have more or less white disposed in patches, white switches more often than not, white legs and

feet, finer horns, and much less size and fleshiness; on the other hand, they are, for their size, very large milkers, their milk is of an extreme richness, and their leanness and general want of force are such as might be expected of animals which do no work, not even the comparatively light work of roaming over pastures. [Here follows a careful section upon Jersey cattle, for the benefit of American farmers.]

The typical beauty of this race includes as a prominent feature its constant tendency to vary in its marking. A herd of differently colored Jersey cows, of good breeding and in good condition, may well be thought to furnish the perfection of bovine beauty with which to set off the attractions of ornamental grounds; and, indeed, the marvellous charm of the scenery of the Island of Jersey, where the vegetation of every clime grows in luxuriance, and where the ivy clothes every neglected stump and stone and every mound of earth with its abundant foliage, is emphasized and greatly increased by the beauty and varied coloring of the animals tethered in every field and orchard. . . .

Small though the Island of Jersey is, our two weeks were all too short for more than a glance at the island, with its peculiar manners and customs; but "fresh fields and pastures new" invited us to Guernsey, and with real regret we gave up our little house, with its charming view, transferred our daily drives to our lasting memory, set sail on a summer sea, and saw this charmed land fade into a dreamy blue cloud behind us.

George E. Waring, Jr., was born in Poundridge, Westchester County, New York, July 4, 1833. His boyhood was passed in Stamford, Connecticut, where his father was a manufacturer of agricultural implements, stoves, etc. He was educated in the schools of Stamford and Poughkeepsie, N.Y. He spent a year in the hardware business in New York City, when he was seventeen, and then returned to Stamford and managed a country grist mill for two years, when he became a pupil of Professor Mapes in scientific agriculture. For several winters he lectured before farmers' clubs and other bodies on improved methods of farming. In 1855 he undertook the management of Horace Greeley's famous farm at Chappaqua, N.Y., and soon afterwards acquired Frederick Law Olmstead's farm on Staten Island. This he soon gave up, having been appointed drainage engineer of Central Park, the improvement of which was being directed by Mr. Olmstead. He had charge of most of the agricultural work at the park until May, 1861, when he was commissioned major of the 39th New York Volunteers and went to Virginia. He became, the next year, colonel of a cavalry regiment in the West, and he was frequently in command of cavalry brigades, often on outpost service. After the war he engaged in coal and oil enterprises, which were unsuccessful; and in 1867 he removed to Newport, Rhode Island, and became a market gardener and florist, and a farmer. He had control of "Ogden Farm" for ten years, during which time he wrote "Ogden Farm Papers" for the "American Agriculturist." He founded the American Jersey Cattle Club, and for many years edited the "Herd Book." He gave up his farming in 1877, and devoted the rest of his life chiefly to sanitary engineering. His work in connection with the sewerage of Ogdensburg, Saratoga, Memphis, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Providence, Columbus, Washington, Omaha and other cities was of great importance; and to most of these enterprises he devoted pamphlets or addresses. In his latest years his thoughts were engaged upon a scheme for the drainage of the great New Jersey flats, between New York and Newark.

In 1895 he was appointed, by Mayor Strong, Commissioner of Street Cleaning for the City of New York; and his great knowledge, experience, and skill, together with the independence of all demands of party which he courageously maintained, enabled him to reorganize the department, clean the streets of New York, and keep them clean, in a way which made his administration epoch-making in American municipal history. In 1898, soon after his retirement from this office, he went to Havana as special Commissioner of the United States Government to investigate the sanitary condition of the city and devise an adequate system of sanitation. In Havana he contracted the yellow fever, of which he died in New York, October 29, 1898, four days after his arrival home.

Colonel Waring was a prolific writer, and his writings had a wide range. Many of them devoted to sewerage and sanitary engineering are of a technical character, which confine their interest chiefly to the special student; but in this field also he wrote much which commanded public attention and interest. "Draining for Profit and Draining for Health," "The Sanitary Drainage of Houses and Towns," and "Modern Methods of Sewage Disposal" are among such writings. His Reports upon the Social Statistics of Cities, prepared for the 10th census (1880) are of high value. His book upon "Street Cleaning and the Disposal of a City's Waste," published after his retirement from the Street Cleaning Department of New York City, is the record of his unique service in that office, treating the subject of the cleanliness of cities both upon its sanitary and moral sides; and this book will remain one of Colonel Waring's chief monuments. To the subject of agriculture he devoted such books as "Elements of Agriculture" and "The Book of the Farm." He translated from the Dutch a valuable work on "Aerial Navigation." "Whip and Spur" is a collection of stories drawn from his war experiences. He devoted a little volume to "Village Improvements and Farm Villages." To the first series of "Half-Moon Papers" on Historic New York he contributed in collaboration with Mr. G. E. Hill a valuable paper on "Old Wells and Water-courses of the Island of Manhattan." "The Tyrol and the Skirt of the Alps" and "A Farmer's Vacation" are interesting records of travel. The latter volume covers experiences in Holland, France, and the Channel Islands, in 1873; and from this is taken the interesting paper on "Old Jersey," reprinted in the present leaflet. It is accompanied in the volume by papers upon Guernsey and Sark; and no American has written more interesting accounts of the Channel Islands. The student interested in the history and life of these islands will like to compare Colonel Waring's account with the works of English and French writers upon the subject, to which reference may be found at the end of the article on the Channel Islands in the Encyclopædia Britannica and elsewhere. Colonel Waring's paper upon Jersey and its agriculture is a good illustration of the enthusiasm which he felt always and everywhere for everything relating to agriculture. For an account of the remarkable progress in intensive agriculture in Jersey and Guernsey since Colonel Waring wrote in 1873, the student is referred to Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories, and Workshops." To the American, Jersey possesses a special interest in having given name to one of our own States. New Jersey was so named because Sir George Carteret, one of the original English proprietors, was a Jerseyman.

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